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ABSTRACT

The advertising section of the Proceedings contains the following 14 papers: "Advertising versus Product Publicity: The Effects on Credibility and Purchase Intent" (M. Catherine Chew and others); "Introducing Introductory Advertising Students to the World Wide Web" (Beth E. Barnes); "In Defense of Puffery" (John H. Crowley); "Merging the Teaching of Advertising and Public Relations Campaigns onto the Information Superhighway" (Robert L. Gustafson and Steven R. Thomsen); "Breaking New Ground in the Virtual Marketplace: A Search for New Metaphors of Form and Structure Shaping Persuasive Communication in the New Media" (Tracy A. Irani); "Trends in the Use and Abuse of Advertorial Advertising in Magazines" (Bong-Hyun Kim and others); "Media Usage Patterns and Preferences of Hispanics in a Texas Market" (Wayne W. Melanson and Jerry C. Hudson); "Rankings of Advertising Programs by Advertising Educators" (Jef I. Richards and Elizabeth Gigi Taylor); "Information Source for Shopping Decisions and Advertising Content Preferences of Malaysian Youth" (Jyotika Ramaprasad); "A Survey of Faculty Evaluation Practices in Journalism and Mass Communication" (Robert C. Sitz and Frank Thayer); "The Application of Multidimensional Scaling to Advertising Education Programs" (Elizabeth Gigi Taylor and Jef I. Richards); "The Second Giant: Portrayals of Women in Japanese Advertising" (Anne Cooper-Chen); "Women's Editions of Newspapers: Marketing Baking Powder to the New Woman" (Ann Mauger Colbert); and "Portrayal of Women in the Advertisements in 'India Today'--India's Leading Current Affairs Magazine: 1984-1994" (Nilanjana Roy Bardhan). (CR)

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ADVERTISING VERSUS PRODUCT PUBLICITY: THE EFFECTS ON CREDIBILITY AND PURCHASE INTENT

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This paper is based on the first author's masters' thesis, advised by the second author.

ADVERTISING VS. PRODUCT PUBLICITY: EFFECTS ON CREDIBILITY AND PURCHASE INTENT

Four core messages were each edited into an advertisement about a well-known or fictitious brand and into a brief news article about a well-known or fictitious brand. The subjects were college students. Each subject read four marketing communication messages about each of the four product categories, one message of each type. After subjects had viewed all four messages, they were asked questions designed to measure their involvement with the product class, familiarity with each brand presented and purchase intent. The type of communication (advertisement or article) did not affect credibility or purchase intent, nor did familiarity of brand. However, as predicted, type and brand familiarity did significantly interact with involvement to affect the credibility of the communication. The results suggest that as involvement with a product increases, the credibility of an ad for a familiar brand decreases. The credibility of an article about a familiar brand stays constant. Conversely, as involvement with a product increases, the credibility of an article about an unfamiliar brand decreases and the credibility of an ad for an unfamiliar brand stays constant. These effects were not reflected in purchase intentions, however.

INTRODUCTION

This study investigates whether publicity is more effective than advertising with respect to consumer products. While one might argue that the two are not comparable, many people do just that when they say that publicity is more valuable than advertising. Consider the following description of the difference between publicity and advertising: Advertising and publicity both attempt "to create consumer awareness, change attitudes and influence purchase behavior. The difference is, however, that marketing communicators must pay for advertising space . . . but publicity is a _nonpaid_ form of communications. Moreover, consumers tend to regard publicity as more _credible_ than advertising, because advertising is perceived as inherently manipulative, whereas news media . . . are considered to be non-manipulative and more objective" (Shimp & DeLozier, 1986, p. 499). Gage (1981) asserts that news releases and feature stories are used to enhance the credibility of established or new brands. Goldman (1984) also suggests that third-party endorsements lend credibility to a company's sales message.

Each of the references mentioned above presuppose some sophistication on the part of consumers. Goldman (1984) explains that viewers know the advertiser can say almost anything he wants to about his product because he pays for the advertisement. That belief, Goldman claims, diminishes the credibility of the advertising message. Similarly, Shimp and DeLozier (1986) imply that the believability of an advertisement suffers because "advertising is a . . . communication that is non-personal and paid for by an identified sponsor. Publicity, like advertising, is non-personal communication . . . but unlike advertising, publicity is not paid for by the company; publicity usually comes in the

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form of news items or editorial comments about a company's products or services" (p. 4).

From the preceding definitions, it would seem that credibility is the most important difference between an advertisement and an article resulting from publicity. However, the most obvious differences are visual. Advertisements are constructed to facilitate reading. Advertising designers use bullets, white space, multiple sizes of type and large visuals to help the reader through the material. Wills (1971) says advertising text should be divided up appropriately so that distinct concepts are more clearly separated. Editorial messages, on the other hand, are usually a solid block of copy, broken only occasionally with small photographs and graphics.

Wills further suggests that dividing up advertising text also underscores the reading rhythm contrived by the copywriters. In addition to such rhythm, copywriters also use everyday language and short phrases to make their advertisements easy to understand. Editorial articles, however, are presented in complete sentences, rather than short phrases. Such structural and linguistic concerns should not be overlooked when comparing advertisements with editorial copy. Structure and linguistics play a large part in the readability of text, the third consideration in comparing advertisements with editorial copy.

Readability is defined as the "ease of understanding or comprehension due to the style of writing" (Klare, 1963, p. 1). Readability research has long held that word and sentence length are the most important determinants of readability (Flesch, 1943; Gunning, 1952; Carson, 1979). However, Selzer (1983) contends that limiting word and sentence length is too simplistic and that other factors more strongly affect readability. He suggests that words are more readable if they are concrete rather than abstract and familiar to the audience. He also suggests that sentence structure and complexity are more likely to affect readability than is sentence length. Similarly, Coleman (1965) suggested that sentences with short clauses are easier to read than sentences with longer clauses.

In any case, it is likely that advertisements are generally more readable than is editorial copy. Most magazines and newspapers write to an eighth grade level, while advertisers attempt to appeal to the lowest reading level in their target audience (Wills, 1971).

Cameron (1994) experimentally compared editorial copy with advertisements in an "advertorial" format in an effort to test the impact of the third-party endorsement considered to be implicit in editorial coverage. He found evidence that the editorial copy was better recalled than the advertisements. However, as he acknowledges, these advertisements were non-standard in their format and content. This study also did not measure credibility of the message, the presumed mediating factor.

In addition to looking at the difference between an advertisement and editorial copy with respect to credibility and purchase intent, this study will investigate how brand familiarity and product involvement affect consumers' response to the communication. For example, research tells us that familiarity affects the cognitive structure a consumer has concerning a product (Zinkhan & Muderrisoglu, 1985). In other words, how much a consumer knows about a brand, or product, affects the amount of information he can process, the type of information he will process, and how favorably the information will affect his attitude toward the brand/product. Familiarity, for the purpose of this study, is defined as having knowledge of a brand through prior experience with the brand.

Similarly, product involvement is defined as having a personal relevance, which leads to a heightened ability to process information. Accordingly, several studies show that the higher a consumer's involvement with a product, the more able they are to pay attention to and therefore comprehend communication about that product (Celsi & Olson, 1988; Gill, Grosbart & Laczniak, 1988; Mitchell, 1979; Petty et al., 1983; Rothschild, 1979).

To examine just what does happen when consumers read advertisements and editorial copy resulting from publicity, this study attempts to measure the relative value of the two types of communication. In this case, relative value is defined as the effectiveness of the message in influencing recall, credibility and purchase intent. The intervening effects of familiarity and involvement are measured as well.

Advertisement vs. Editorial Copy

For the purposes of this study, an advertisement will be defined as a communication designed to promote a product that is paid for by the maker/distributor of the product. Editorial copy on the other hand, is defined as a communication written by a third party. The obvious differences between an advertisement and editorial copy are the layout of the communication and the content. Some of the more subtle differences include the perceived credibility and the readability of the communication.

As mentioned previously, one of the major differences between an advertisement and editorial copy is the visual element. Even if the editorial copy contains a visual of the product, the visual in the editorial copy is not as likely to elicit a positive response as the visual featured in an advertisement is, mainly because the visual in an advertisement is much larger. For instance, Rossiter and Percy (1978) theorized that both the visual and verbal components of advertisements are processed for product information. To test the theory they exposed subjects to one of two treatments: small picture and copy in large typeface or large picture and copy in small typeface. They found that attitude toward the brand was significantly more positive in the large picture/small type treatment. In 1983, Rossiter and Percy found that attitude is a function of the size of the visual element in the execution; larger pictures of the product generate significantly more favorable attitudes than the same picture reduced in size. They also found that picture size was relevant if the target audience chooses the product on the basis of multi-attribute attitudes versus an overall feeling or belief about taste. Mitchell and Olson (1981) conducted a study in which the subjects each were shown an advertisement for four fictitious brands of facial tissue. In addition to the brand name, each advertisement contained one element: a picture or verbal claim. The treatment that featured a drawing of a kitten was more effective than the verbal message ("Brand I Facial Tissues Are Soft") in communicating the desired belief of "softness." Mitchell and Olson inferred that the more favorable attitude resulted from the pictorial stimulus because it affected subjects' beliefs.

However, the visual affects not only attitude toward the brand; Edell and Staelin (1983) point out that, in general, pictorial stimuli are better recalled. Keeping this in mind, we can expect that the message in an advertisement will be more easily recalled than the message in editorial copy. However, Edell and Staelin suggest that the presence of a picture in an advertisement doesn't guarantee differences in cognitive processing of the message. They also suggest that consumers use the pictorial and verbal elements of advertisements differently. The pictures are attention-getting and easier to process than text. Therefore the readers tend to pay more attention to the picture than the text.

Although readers pay more attention to the pictures, it is wrong to conclude that the message contained in the text is unimportant. Edell and Staelin (1983) stressed that a picture with an incongruent verbal message is not likely to trigger brand evaluation by the reader.

Zinkhan and Martin (1983) say that advertisement copy must be kept simple--not only the words but also the sentence structure. They point out that repetitive or predictable copy is more readily assimilated by the target audience than less repetitive or less predictable copy. Again, this information would lead us to assume that an advertisement's message would be more easily assimilated, and therefore recalled, than the message contained in editorial copy.

Moving from consumer behavior studies to psycholinguistic research, we find numerous examples of the importance of grammatical structure in processing information. For instance, Slobin (1971) and Kanouse (1972) illustrate that active declarative sentences are easier to process than passive sentences and that negative sentences are processed with even greater difficulty than passive sentences. Percy (1988) found that recall varied, often significantly, as a function of the grammatical structure of the message. While it is important to consider these issues when comparing advertisements to editorial copy, it is not likely that there will be a significant difference between the two in grammatical structure.

Credibility

It is also important to consider the difference in credibility of the two types of communication. Credibility can be defined, loosely, as believability, objectivity and expertise (Assael, 1981). If we assume that most consumers are sophisticated enough to know that an advertisement is written by someone who wants to sell a product and editorial copy is written by someone who wants to provide unbiased information, then we must take into account the impact that knowledge may have on consumers' reactions to the product. For example, Shimp and DeLozier (1986) maintain the "the consumer is continually vigilant to the intentions of the advertiser. It is quite difficult to eliminate intent to persuade" (p. 130). If that is the case, then certainly editorial copy should have more credibility than an advertisement.

Brand Familiarity

Brand familiarity is included in this study as an independent variable because familiarity affects the cognitive structure a consumer has concerning a product (Zinkhan & Muderrisoglu, 1985). In other words, how much a consumer knows about a brand affects the amount of information he can process, the type of information he will process, and how favorably the information will affect his attitude toward the brand.

Familiarity has been described as having experience with, prior knowledge and/or ownership of a product (Bettman & Parks, 1980). Johnson and Russo (1984) treat familiarity as synonymous with knowledge. They measured familiarity by numbers of products used, numbers of products owned and a self-report on knowledge of product as compared to the rest of the population. Raju and Reilly (1979) operationalized familiarity as frequency of use, while Lastovicka (1979) defined it as knowledge about the product class. But Marks and Olson (1981) disagree with these definitions and suggest that familiarity is the cognitive representation of past experiences that are stored in memory.

In any case, familiarity enables the consumer to think for herself. Because the consumer has a certain level of knowledge about a brand, she trusts her own judgment and is not relying on cues from other sources, such as a spokesperson or the media. Consequently, if the consumer is familiar with a brand, source credibility may not be an important issue and the consumer may find information in an advertisement just as believable as information in editorial copy.

Involvement

Past definitions of involvement can basically fit into one of two categories: personal relevance or information processing. The personal relevance theory, which suggests that involvement is how personally important or connected a product is to a consumer's values, is argued by

Lastovicka and Gardner (1979); Cushing and Douglas-Tate (1981); Zaichkowsky (1986); Leigh and Menon (1987); and Celsi and Olson (1988). The information processing theory, which explains involvement by the resulting effects, is argued by Mitchell (1979); Rothschild (1979); Petty, Cacioppo and Schumann (1983); Cohen (1983); and Greenwald and Leavitt (1984).

Mitchell (1979) and Rothschild (1979) suggest that involvement is a concept related to message-processing motivation. Petty, Cacioppo and Schumann (1983) argue that consumers with high levels of involvement will have an increase in cognitive activity, while Greenwald and Leavitt (1984) suggest that increases in cognitive activity can be associated with increases in involvement. Cohen (1983) argues that involvement signifies a readiness to acquire and process information.

Because all of these studies offer convincing evidence of their arguments, for the purposes of this study, involvement is operationalized as having a personal relevance that leads to the greater likelihood of heightened processing of information.

Petty et al. (1983) suggest that consumers who have high levels of involvement are both better equipped and motivated to pay attention to and comprehend the relevant information in a communication. Mitchell (1979) and Rothschild (1979) both argue that consumers with high involvement should be not only more willing to process relevant information but more selectively attentive. Celsi and Olson (1988) support this line of reasoning when they suggest that greater levels of involvement affect the amount of effort, attention and comprehension. The results of a study by Gill, Grosbart and Laczniak (1988) suggest that consumers with a high level of involvement are more likely to note and make more analytic use of product information than are consumers with low levels of involvement.

If involvement, then, is marked by an increase in the ability to process information, it is expected that consumers who have high levels of product involvement, like consumers with high levels of familiarity, will not be as dependent on source cues as consumers with low involvement. Again, the consumer may find information in an advertisement just as believable as information in editorial copy. And, if the information is just as believable, and perhaps easier to recall because of the design of advertisements, consumers with high product involvement may find an advertisement more effective than editorial copy.

Hypotheses

Credibility was chosen as a dependent variable because it is the main focus of the claim that a article is better than an advertisement. Haynes (1986) points out that in advertising the impact of reporting bias is particularly relevant. An advertiser and an independent source (editorial copy) both can be expected to have some level of expertise, i.e. the ability to provide accurate information about a product. But a reader might question the reporting bias or willingness of the two sources to provide accurate information. Haynes (1986) says that the source's reason for providing information is the key to gauging reporting bias. If a reader thinks the advertiser provided the message in order to somehow gain something, the reader may perceive reporting bias (Eagly & Chaiken, 1978). Independent sources of product information are not perceived as having reporting bias (Haynes, 1986). Such sources might be perceived as more credible because there is no obvious sponsorship (Ray, 1982). When the reader perceives reporting bias, he perceives advertiser insincerity, which lowers the effectiveness of the message (Eagly, Wood & Chaiken, 1978).

However, the more a consumer knows about a brand and product class, the less likely he is to rely on source cues, such as credibility (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). In other words, if a consumer knows a great

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deal about a product, he will not find an article about a product any more credible than an advertisement about the same product. He does not need to rely on someone else's expertise because he is somewhat of an expert himself. Conversely, if he knows nothing about a product, he should be more likely to believe an article than an advertisement. Familiarity of the brand also plays a role. A consumer can be an expert only on a brand he is familiar with. If he is unfamiliar, he can only rely on information from other sources to form his opinion of the brand.

H_1: If the brand is familiar and the consumer has a high level of involvement with the product class, he will find the advertisement more credible than the trade article. Conversely, if the brand is unfamiliar and the consumer has a low level of involvement with the product class, he will find the trade article more credible than the advertisement.

Purchase Intent

Intention is defined as a cognitive state that reflects the consumer's plan to buy a particular brand within a specific time period (Howard, 1977). O'Shaughnessy (1987) suggests that an intention "is a disposition . . . to buy some particular product or brand *under certain specified circumstances*" (p. 178). Howard (1969) contends that intention links attitude to purchase because attitude gives direction to purchase behavior. But, he points out, attitude does not take into consideration constraints that may inhibit the consumer from making the choices influenced by his attitude.

While an intention to buy something is not the same as an actual purchase, or even a prediction of a purchase, the intention construct was used for two reasons: a) it is easier to collect data about intention to purchase than to track down post facto purchase information; b) data about purchase intent can be taken at an earlier point in time than purchase data (Howard, 1969), and therefore the intention can be more convincingly linked to the stimulus.

Again, source cues will play a role in whether a consumer bases a decision to purchase on an advertisement or an article. If the consumer has high involvement and the brand is familiar, i.e. the consumer is an expert,then he can trust his own ability to judge information from the advertisement. If, however, the consumer knows nothing about the product and is not familiar with the brand, he is much more likely to base a decision to buy on an article, ostensibly written by someone with much greater knowledge about the product and brand than the consumer.

H2: If the consumer's involvement level is high and the brand is familiar, it is unlikely that he will base purchase intent on an article. As involvement level and familiarity decrease, the consumer is more likely to base purchase intention on the article than on the advertisement.

METHODS

Design and Experimental Manipulations

This study used a 2x2 within-subjects design, with familiarity and message type as the factors; involvement was incorporated as a measured variable. The same message, with slight variation in some instances, is presented four ways: an advertisement for a familiar brand; an advertisement for an unfamiliar brand; an article about a familiar brand; and an article about an unfamiliar brand. Since the message is essentially the same except for the manipulation, differences in the effect of the stimuli should be due to the manipulations.

Individual differences between subjects can be controlled by using a within-subjects design, in which each subject receives a message in each experimental condition. Using a within-message design ensures that each experimental manipulation is contained within each message, and the within-subjects design ensures that each subject sees all four treatments. Manipulations were kept within the message by manipulating each message to fit all four experimental conditions, for a total of 16 different stimuli. Any one subject received four different messages, one in each condition. However, only every fourth subject saw any particular set of messages.The stimuli were arranged in a 4 x 4 Greco-Latin square to counterbalance possible order and sequence effects(Calfee, 1985). Since every subject appears in every condition, such a design is equivalent in power to a between-subjects design with 80 participants.

--Table 1 about here--

Stimuli

Four advertisements were selected from specialized magazines. The ads were chosen on the basis of ease of reproduction, likelihood of subjects' interest in the product represented and familiarity of subjects with brand represented. The products featured were a Schwinn bicycle, a Yamaha CD player, a Smith Corona typewriter and a WordPerfect software package.

Editorial copy for each product was created using the photographs and information from the ads. The editorial copy was presented in a three-column format similar to that found in a typical magazine. The photographs were located in the upper right-hand corner of the page. Date, publication name and any relevant headings were reproduced in keeping with the style of each publication. The remainder of the page was "greeked in" to simulate an actual magazine page.

Experimental manipulation. Familiarity was manipulated by selecting well-known brands for the familiar treatment and creating fictitious brand names for the unfamiliar treatment. (See Table 2.)

--Table 2 about here--

The ad/trade article treatment was manipulated by designing the communication to fit the norm for each treatment, i.e. the advertisement contained a large photograph; large headlines and subheads; and short, concise sentences versus the editorial copy's small photograph; average headline and longer sentences. The ads also made subjective claims about the products represented, while the editorial copy provided objective information about the products.

A page preceding each message identified it as either an advertisement or an article, whichever was appropriate, that appeared in the publication in which the original advertisement appeared.

Subjects and procedures. Twenty paid subjects were recruited through announcements in large undergraduate writing classes and through signs posted outside the testing room. Nine subjects were male and 11 were female, with the majority of subjects falling between the ages of 18-24. The subjects had a median education of 14.5 years and a median GPA of 3.06. Twelve subjects were enrolled in an arts, humanities and social science program; three in business; one in applied human sciences; one in forestry/natural resources; one in veterinary and biomedicine and two were undecided.

The instrument was a 22 page booklet with a cover page and instructions, four messages each preceded by a page with a descriptive sentence and followed by attitude toward the message questions. After subjects had viewed all four messages, they were asked questions designed to measure their level of product involvement, level of familiarity with each brand presented to them, and purchase intent. These were followed by several demographic questions.

Dependent Variable Measurement

Credibility was measured by using one question regarding credibility of the message, "Do you believe or disbelieve what the ad [article] says." This question had an 11-point response scale ranging from *believe* to *disbelieve*. The response scale was modeled on a scale used to measure trait assessments by Weber and Crocker (1983).

A purchase intent assessment was made asking if the respondent "would be likely or unlikely to buy this product." The question was also on an 11-point response scale ranging from "likely" to buy product to "unlikely" to buy product.

Index for Involvement

Seven assessments of product involvement were made. These were on an 11-point scale as well. Four of the measures were averaged into a single index.

An index for involvement measures was created by running a factor analysis on the seven involvement questions: "How important or unimportant is a (product) to you?" "Do you feel that a (product) is a luxury item or a necessity?" "How likely or unlikely are you to look for information about (product)?" "Are you unlikely or likely to talk about (product) with your friends?" "Do you know a lot or nothing about (product)?" "Would you be interested or uninterested in knowing the price of the (product) you read about?" "How unlikely or likely would you be to spend a lot of time comparison shopping if you were going to buy a (product)?", which were based loosely on Cushing and Douglas-Tate (1981) and Lastovicka and Gardner (1979). The measures regarding price, luxury versus necessity and comparison shopping were dropped because they had a weak relationship to the other measures. A correlation analysis was then run, which yielded a Cronbach's Alpha value of .79 and demonstrated a moderately strong relationship among the four remaining measures.

Manipulation Checks

One question served as the manipulation check for the familiar/unfamiliar treatment: "How often have you heard of or read about (brand name)?" The 11-point scale ranged from *heard of often* to *never heard of*.

One item served as the manipulation check for the ad/trade article treatment: "As best as you can recall, without looking back, was the information you read about (brand) an advertisement or an article excerpt?" The 11-point scale ranged from *ad* to *article excerpt*.

Data Analysis

The analysis of main effects and interactions of involvement on consumers' reactions to marketing communications was carried out as an analysis of covariance, using the SAS General Linear Model program (SAS, 1989).

RESULTS

Manipulation Checks

The manipulation check for participants correctly identifying the familiar or unfamiliar brands was significant (familiar mean = 2.65, unfamiliar mean = 10.35) F (1,76) =286.55, $p < .001$.) The manipulation check for recognizing whether the communication was an advertisement or a trade article was significant (ad mean = 2.38, trade article mean = 8.24 F (1,76) =51.99, $p <.001$).

Tests of Hypotheses

Credibility . No significant main effects were found. See Table 3 for means. However, as predicted, a significant three way interaction (F=3.33, p=.03) was found in the analysis of credibility (see Figures 2 and 3). The study showed that involvement significantly influenced how credible the subjects found the communications. In the familiar treatment, subjects with low involvement rated the ad as more credible than the article. However, when they were highly involved, they found the publicity article more credible. Just the opposite was true in the unfamiliar treatment: subjects with low involvement rated the article as more credible while highly-involved subjects found the ad more credible.

--Figures 2 and 3 about here--

The general pattern was that in the familiar treatment, the credibility of the ad decreased as the level of involvement increased. The credibility of the article stayed constant. In the unfamiliar treatment, the credibility of the article decreased as the level of involvement increased. The credibility of the ad remained constant.

The findings in the familiar treatment were not expected. The credibility of the ad was expected to increase as the level of involvement increased. However, the findings in the unfamiliar treatment, that the credibility of the article decreased as involvement increased, were expected.

--Table 3 about here--

Purchase Intent. It was predicted that the consumer would not base purchase intent on an article if his involvement level is high and the brand is familiar. As involvement level and familiarity decreased, the consumer was expected is to base purchase intention on the article than on the advertisement. No main effects or interactions were found. See Table 4 for main effects means.

--Table 4 about here--

DISCUSSION

What prompted this study is the almost universal assumption in the public relations, marketing, and advertising professions that having an article about a product/service/organization appear in the media will yield better results than will an advertisement containing basically the same information.

The results of the study supported the argument for a complex relationship incorporating familiarity, message type, and involvement. However, results failed to support our proposition that a familiar brand and a high level of consumer involvement will yield higher credibility for the ad than the trade article. What might have occurred is that the more involved consumer yielded to someone with greater knowledge. It is possible that there is a window where someone with a lot of knowledge about a product class and/or a brand does not rely on source cues because they have confidence in their ability to make decisions. However, as they gain more expertise about the product class and/or brand, they become more alert to assessing source credibility. Since each of the magazines where the articles and advertisements were reported to have appeared are recognized as reputable, credible magazines, their staff could reasonably be considered experts in the field.

However, the results did unexpectedly show that the article about the unfamiliar brand loses credibility as the respondents' involvement increased. The former explanation about the window of expertise could still hold. Since the brand is unfamiliar the respondent is an expert only in the product class. This could reduce the level of expertise down to the window where the consumer still feels confident in making his own judgments without relying on source cues. Alternatively a good advertisement may suggest to a knowledgeable consumer that an unknown brand is backed by an organization with financial resources--itself an important cue regarding the information in the message to a sophisticated consumer.

The results failed to support the second hypothesis, which contends that the consumer will not base purchase intent on an article when involvement level is high and the brand is familiar. It may be of some interest that the highest rating of purchase intent among those subjects who had a high level of involvement with the product class was awarded to the article on the unfamiliar brand; perhaps these highly involved consumers were interested in exploring new product options.

Limitations of Study

The limitations of this study are mainly related to the design of the experiment. For instance, the subjects were all undergraduates. Perhaps because they were students, and probably on a tight budget, they were not looking to buy, no matter how interested they were in the product, reducing the meaningfulness of the purchase intent measure. The credibility and purchase intent measures were also single-item measures. The single items were both intuitive and measured the specific response of concern--e.g., the extent to which the reader believed the message--but use of the single items precluded testing of measure reliability.

More substantively, as discussed earlier, the articles were brief descriptions, new product releases rather than a full editorial treatment with third-party endorsement. The differences between the advertisements and the articles were subtle; only the most basic differences between advertisement and editorial were tested. In a sense, this study suffered from the opposite problem from that encountered by Cameron (1994). In that study, advertisements were presented in an impoverished fashion, deprived of the visuals and format that make them relatively effective. In this study, the editorial copy had none of the details or features that may emphasize possible third party endorsement.

It is clear from the results that the content of the article is important, and that there is no magic inherent in editorial placement alone. The results suggest that mere placement of a new product announcement in editorial space is no more effective than an advertisement. The nature of the article, the depth to which the article covers the product class, presence of a byline, and explicitness of third party endorsement all probably play an important role in how credible the article is; these editorial factors were intentionally excluded from the present study. In other words, editorial coverage may well be superior in effect to advertising, but this superiority is not simply based on the magic of news hole placement. Instead, to the extent such effects exist, they are a function of explicit editorial elaboration and endorsement.

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Table 1 Arrangement of Brand, Product and Advertisement/Story Treatments in Presentation of Stimuli: A Greco-Latin Square Design

	Order			
	1	2	3	4
A	Unfamiliar bicycle ad	Familiar software article	Familiar CD player ad	Unfamiliar typewriter article
B	Familiar typewriter article	Unfamiliar CD player ad	Unfamiliar software article	Familiar bicycle ad
C	Familiar software ad	Unfamiliar bicycle article	Unfamiliar typewriter ad	Familiar CD player article
D	Unfamiliar CD player article	Familiar typewriter ad	Familiar bicycle article	Unfamiliar software ad

Table 2 Brands of Products Used.

	Familiar	Unfamiliar
Bicycle	Schwinn	Tarantelle
Software	WordPerfect	SoftWord
CD Player	Yamaha	Landon
Typewriter	Smith Corona	Serelle

Table 3 Mean credibility by communication type and familiarity.

	Familiarity	
Communication Type	Familiar	Unfamiliar
Advertisement	3.2	3.89
Editorial Copy	3.22	3.45

Table 4 Mean purchase intent by communication type and familiarity.

	Familiarity	
Communication Type	Familiar	Unfamiliar
Advertisement	5.42	7.46
Editorial Copy	6.45	7.83

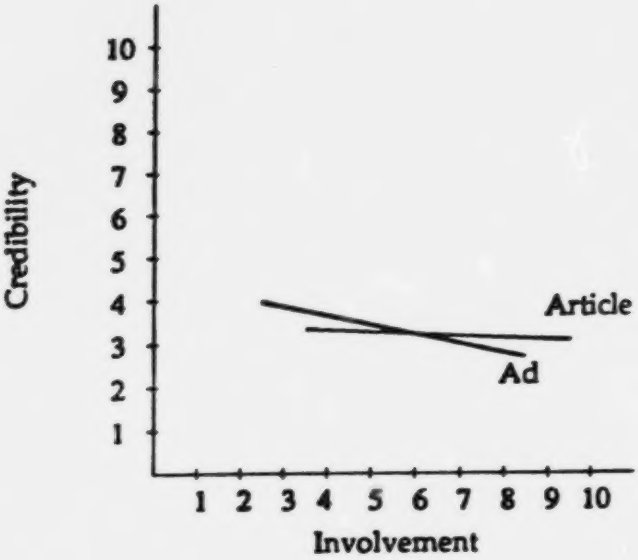

Figure 2. Interaction of involvement and credibility in familiar treatment

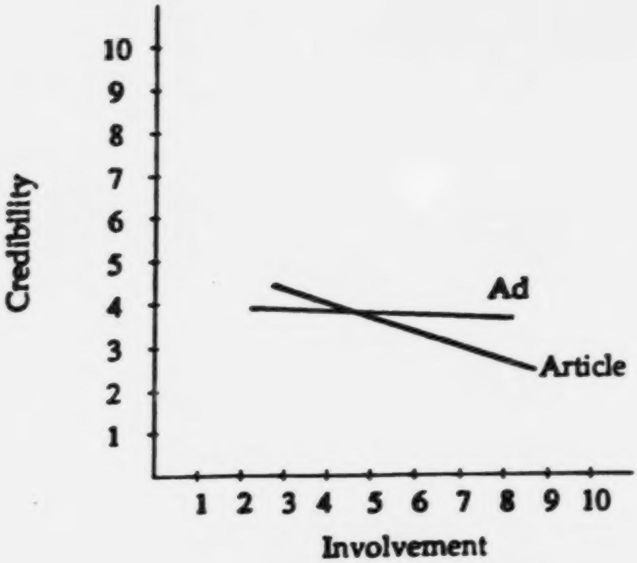

Figure 3. Interaction of involvement and credibility in unfamiliar treatment

Introducing Introductory Advertising Students to the World Wide Web

To be presented at the 1995 Conference of the
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Advertising Division -- Teaching Standards

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Introducing Introductory Advertising Students to the World Wide Web

Abstract

While students at major universities may have access to the World Wide Web via campus computer labs, many have yet to take advantage of the Web's offerings. Regular demonstrations of Web sites were incorporated into an introductory advertising course to pique students' interest in the Web. This paper discusses how Web site visits were incorporated into lectures and the students' evaluation of the Web site component of the course.

Introducing Introductory Advertising Students to the World Wide Web

The World Wide Web (the Web) is a user-friendly on-ramp to the information superhighway. The Web uses hypermedia technology to produce attractive combinations of text, graphics, and sound (Levine & Baroudi, 1993). Individuals and companies have established sites on the Web, known as "home pages," where they provide information on a seemingly endless array of products, services, and interest areas. Users typically access the Web through navigational software packages like Mosaic or Netscape, which facilitate both random browsing and directed searching for Web sites.

While advertisers' use of the Internet has been limited because of the strictures of netiquette, which frowns on self-promotion, the Web offers a way of getting around such difficulties ("Making moves," 1995). Advertisers can establish a home page and then wait for interested computer users to come to them. Advertising Age and Adweek both run regular reports detailing advertiser and advertising agency presence on the Web, a sign of the medium's growing importance to the advertising community.

Although advertising interest in the Web is high, consumer usage is still relatively low. Global Internet usage is estimated at 25 million people, while fewer than 3 million people are estimated to be using the Web ("Making moves," 1995). Still, the potential of the Web as an advertising medium is strong enough to merit attention in an advertising curriculum. This paper reports the results of one method of introducing the Web in an introductory advertising course.

Background

The introductory advertising course at a large northeastern university is taught in one section of ninety to one hundred students each semester. The students in the class are all undergraduates; approximately one-half are advertising majors while the rest come from a variety of majors across the university. For advertising majors, the course is their first exposure to the discipline. It is the only advertising course open to non-majors.

The instructor first began to incorporate an interactive computer element into the class during the 1993-94 academic year. Each student in the course was given a computer account to use to communicate with the instructor via electronic mail and to provide access to the university's word processing facilities for preparation of class assignments. Each semester, a handful of students (around five or six) took advantage of the e-mail access to the instructor, sending messages with questions about tests and assignments. The majority of students used their account only for word processing.

The university implemented a policy change at the beginning of fall semester 1994. All students were automatically issued computer accounts, providing immediate access to e-mail.

Instructors may still request accounts for their classes; those accounts give students access to dedicated electronic bulletin boards where the instructor can post class announcements, assignments, and the like.

Despite the policy change and increased open hours at the campus computer labs that accompanied the move to universal e-mail, students in the introductory advertising course in fall 1994 continued to make only sporadic use of e-mail, and anecdotal evidence suggested that their other computer use was low as well. This particular cohort of students seems to have been bypassed by the computer revolution. Many of the students at this university come from rural areas where school systems may not provide access to computers.

While other courses within the academic unit had begun to require computer use, those classes were much smaller than the introductory advertising class. This instructor's intent was not to have every student in the class communicating regularly via e-mail, but rather to pique students' interest in advertising uses for computer communication, and, by extension, to encourage the students' own computer use as a means to enhance their marketability in the communications industries.

Bringing the Web to Students

In spring semester 1995, the introductory class was scheduled into one of the university's "technology classrooms." These rooms are equipped with a dedicated computer terminal linked to a projection unit. The instructor operates the computer; the screen output is displayed on a large screen at the front of the room. While students are not able to use the computer themselves, they can follow the steps the instructor takes in retrieving information. In this particular classroom, the computer is an IBM PS/2 which is networked into the university's Gopher system. The computer also provides Web access via both Mosaic and Netscape. A similar configuration is available to students in the university's computer labs on both IBM and Apple equipment, and on their personal computers via modem hook-up.

As part of the course orientation on the first day of class, students were told that they would be seeing examples of interactive advertising throughout the semester. They were also reminded of their e-mail accounts and encouraged to check the CLASSNEWS bulletin board for the course regularly for announcements and other class information.

During the first half of the course, Web demonstrations were only peripherally related to course content. The instructor was also new at surfing the Web, and demonstrated sites to students as she discovered them. During the seventh week of the semester, as part of a mid-term course evaluation, students were asked whether they found the Web demonstrations interesting and whether they would like them continued. The answer to both questions was an overwhelming "yes." Of the sixty-four students who completed the evaluation (out of a class of ninety-two students total), only one indicated that they were not interested in the Web demonstrations.

The students' comments suggested that the demonstrations were helping to increase their interest in computer-mediated communication. For example, one student noted that "I don't get to see the Internet often -- it shows new ways of advertising." Another pointed out that "If nothing else, they [the demonstrations] emphasize the importance and practicality of computers in today's marketplace." This was new information for the students; one commented "I'd never even heard of it [the Web] before and neither had my boyfriend, who claims to know mostly everything about computers!"

However, while the students were finding the demonstrations interesting, several noted that they would like stronger ties between the Web sites and class content. As one put it, "I wish that they [the demonstrations] were slightly more related to advertising (or were more related in some way to something we should know concerning the Internet)." And, echoing a universal complaint of students, another noted: "I don't see the relevance of using it so often and not being tested on it."

In response to the students' concerns, the instructor adapted the demonstrations so that the site(s) visited during the class period served as examples of that day's lecture topic. Students could learn of other, unrelated, sites that the instructor thought they might find interesting through regular postings of URLs (home page "addresses") on the CLASSNEWS bulletin board.

In their comments, a number of students requested that the instructor repeat the instructions for accessing the Web. In subsequent Web demonstrations, students were shown each step they would need to take to get into Netscape in the computer lab. The various Web search and directory functions were also demonstrated so that students would know how to explore the Web on their own.

Seeing the Sites

This section describes some of the Web sites demonstrated to the class. Not surprisingly, some sites were more interesting than others and therefore better able to hold the students' interest. (This was an important consideration since all of the classroom lights had to be turned off in order for students to see the display.) They are presented here both as a guide for other instructors and as evidence of the range of companies making use of the Web.

As mentioned above, early Web site demonstrations were not tied directly to class content but instead featured sites the instructor thought the class would enjoy. Among the sites in this group were Club Med (http://www.hotwired.com/Coin/Spnsrs/Clubmed/), accessed on a cold, grey January day; Windham Hill Records (http://www.windham.com/); and Zima (http://www.zima.com/).

The Club Med home page asks visitors to select either a singles, couples, or family vacation and then offers suggested destinations for the chosen option. The listing for a particular property includes a visual of the site, a list of services, any special events, and prices. The visitor can also register to receive a Club Med brochure containing a $50 discount offer. This site served as a good example of using the Web to generate a database of prospective customers.

The Windham Hill home page features an audio-visual catalog of the company's New Age and Jazz recordings. Users can hear sample selections from albums. Another nice feature is a radio station locator, which gives a geographic listing of AM and FM stations that play Windham Hill recordings. The user selects the type of music they are interested in and provides the abbreviation for their home state. The system quickly generates a list of station call letters and frequencies. This site showed an advertiser's attempt to reach a relatively narrow target (since Windham Hill produces very specialized music) via the Web.

The Zima demonstration was problematic because many students in the class were underage and the instructor was not interested in promoting alcohol use or abuse. However, several students had seen the site mentioned on Zima's packaging and had requested the demonstration. And, Advertising Age had cited Zima's home page as being a good example of a site targeted to Generation X ("Making moves," 1995). The instructor investigated the page first, and discovered that it was unique in providing a continuing interactive link between the user and the advertiser via "Tribe Z." The user registers their e-mail address; once registered, the Zima "Tribemaster" sends regular e-mail messages with holiday-themed Zima trivia. The instructor decided that the educational benefit of this unique site outweighed her concerns related to the product and so demonstrated the site. However, no other alcohol-related sites were demonstrated, despite their prevalence on the Web.

As the instructor spent more time exploring the Web, it became easier to locate sites that were related to lecture topics. For example, a lecture designed to give an overview of the advertising campaign development process was illustrated through commercial reels showing the ads for the introductions of Saturn and Neon automobiles and the attempt to reposition Oldsmobile ("This is not your father's Oldsmobile"). After seeing the ads, the students were shown an auto dealer web site (http://www.dealernet.com/) that included advertising messages tied to all three car makes. The Saturn information carried the same theme as the television campaign and expanded on the information in those ads. The Neon information was not as well integrated with those television commercials, and the Oldsmobile information lacked any unifying theme. Consequently, this demonstration offered a way to show the students the value of speaking with a consistent voice in all advertising media.

Two web sites were especially useful as part of a discussion of market segmentation, target marketing, and consumer behavior. To illustrate geographic segmentation, students saw the home page of Capons Rotisserie Chicken, a restaurant in the state of

Washington (http://nwlink.com/capons/capons.html). Users can place a delivery order through this web site, but only if they live in Factoria, Capitol Hill, or Wallingford, WA. The class spent some time discussing why the restaurant owner might have decided to set up a web site, accessible by all, for such a limited group of users.

The other web site demonstrated in this segment of the course was SRI's VALS2 home page (http:future.sri.com/vals/valshome.html). This site includes an explanation of the VALS2 model and descriptions of each of the VALS2 segments. Most valuable is the actual VALS2 questionnaire. Users are invited to complete the questionnaire to find out where they would be classified (and, of course, to build SRI's database). The demonstration of this site really seemed to clarify the VALS2 concept for students, making the abstract concrete.

A number of sites proved useful in the media planning segment of the course. To begin the discussion of media planning, the class visited Fallon-McElligott Advertising's home page (http://www.fallon.com/), which includes a discussion of the agency's media planning philosophy. The CBS television network's home page (http://www.cbs.com/) was used to illustrate how the broadcast networks are making efforts to better market themselves to prospective viewers and advertisers. (This page also contains the complete archive of all of David Letterman's Top 10 lists since he joined CBS, a real draw for the students.)

As part of the lecture on print media, the class discussed some of the threats to paper-based media related to rising production costs, increasing demands on consumer time, and decreasing interest in reading. Two Web sites helped to illustrate this point: the San Jose Mercury News' Mercury Center Net (http://www.sjmercury.com/howtouse.htm) and the electronic version of Time (http://www.timeinc.com/time/magazine/magazine.html). Mercury Center Net is an example of a newspaper offering ancillary services, including electronic classified ads and some display advertising, to try and attract non-readers. The Time site also raises some interesting advertising issues because it contains the complete text of the current issue of the magazine, minus photographs and ads. Does this decrease the value of an advertiser's investment in the paper version?

Students often take directory advertising for granted. A look at the home page for the Austin (TX) Internet Yellow Pages (http://www.yp.com/) started a discussion on the value of display advertising in directories. There was no display advertising at the Austin site, at least not at the time of our visit, and students did not find the basic company name, address, and phone number listings particularly interesting.

Finally, we visited another agency site to begin the creative segment of the course. Chiat-Day's "Idea Factory" (http://www.chiatday.com) is a heavily visual, creative-driven look at the agency. One feature is a "game" highlighting different ads from Chiat-Day's campaign for the Nynex Yellow

Pages. Users see the visual and try to guess the caption, which is the directory category being illustrated. This was an excellent introduction to the creative thought process and demonstrated the art of translating a simple strategy into very effective, creative advertisements.

Was It Worth the Ride?

Students answered a brief survey about their computer use during the eleventh week of the semester. This time was chosen because it was late enough in the semester for students to have had a chance to experiment with the Web and early enough not to conflict with university-mandated evaluations that are administered during the last few weeks of class. (A copy of the survey with answer frequencies is included in the appendix.) Of the ninety-two students in the class, sixty-six (72%) returned completed surveys.

More than two-thirds of the students reported that they used their university computer account; the modal responses for frequency of usage were "several times a week" and "every few weeks" (19.7% each). Somewhat surprising, given the continued low incidence of e-mail to the instructor from students, 90.5% of the students who used their accounts reported that they used the e-mail function regularly. Of the students who reported that they never used their computer accounts, more than half (54.2%) attributed their behavior to a lack of knowledge of the required software.

The students were also questioned specifically about their usage of the Web. A little over a third of the students who completed the survey (34.6%) reported that they had explored Web sites. Of the twenty-four students in that group, 62.5% said that the reason they had decided to access the Web for the first time was an interest in one of the sites the instructor had demonstrated in the class. The students did not use the Web frequently (the modal response was "every few weeks"), but this was not particularly surprising given the newness of the technology.

The forty-two students who had not accessed the Web reported two major barriers: lack of knowledge on how to use the required software (42.9%) and lack of time (31.0%). Several students noted that university computer lab attendants were often too busy to demonstrate the Web.

The students' general computer use was in line with the instructor's expectations. All but three of the sixty-six students reported that they felt comfortable using word processing computer software. A smaller number (14, or 21.2%) claimed comfort with spreadsheet programs, and only one student reported using statistical packages. Because some computer industry observers have linked interest in interactive applications to computer gaming (Neubecker, 1994), students were also asked whether they were familiar with game software. Twenty-six students (39.4%) reported playing games. Eighty-eight percent of the students in the gamer group reported using their computer accounts, and half had visited a Web site.

Students with their own computer showed a somewhat greater tendency to use their university computer accounts and to visit the Web than students who did not have their own hardware. Of the twenty-three students who had their own computer, 78.3% reported using their account and 43.5% had visited a Web site.

Given these results as well as those of the earlier mid-semester evaluation, the instructor felt that the Web site demonstrations were successful. Students reported a strong interest in the Web site visits. And, over a third of the students reported visiting a Web site on their own, many as a direct result of seeing the demonstrations in class.

Discussion

Web site demonstrations as used in this class served three major purposes. The demonstrations introduced the students to the Web, sparked their interest in using their computer account, and helped to illustrate lecture material. Given the wide-ranging nature of the introductory course, concrete examples are especially valuable in keeping students' interest and as a break from rote learning of principles. The demonstrations also proved to be effective starting points for class discussions, always a challenge in a class of this size.

Using Web sites as a teaching tool provides another path to learning for students. And, regular exposure to the Web may help to increase students' comfort level with computers. Several of the student comments generated through the mid-semester course evaluation touched on this aspect. One noted, "I'm still a little scared to use them [Web sites] on my own, but in an industry where computers are essential, I think that as you keep demonstrating, I'll get over my fear." Another student was even more direct: "I hate computers and the Web interests me, so it helps me overcome my fear and hatred towards computers. It makes computers fun to play with."

The Web demonstrations also provide a link between the real world and the classroom. Students valued this exposure to companies' actual marketing activities: "As the industry moves along the information highway, so should we!" "It is interesting to see the wide range of things that can be done on the Internet. Besides, computers are becoming more and more important so I think it's essential to be exposed to them."

Although Web penetration is low, interactive advertising merits coverage in an introductory advertising class. The challenges the Web faces in building its audience numbers are not dissimilar from those experienced by other specialty media that receive regular attention from advertising instructors. In addition, the advertising trade press carries weekly reports of advertising agencies who are establishing a presence on the Web. Familiarity with the Web may provide students with a way to differentiate themselves in the search for internships and jobs.

Ideally, students in the advertising major would continue to receive exposure to the Web and other interactive media as a component of advanced courses. Unfortunately, the technology to allow this is not readily available at this university: the computer lab dedicated to advertising classes is not networked into the university system, and most of the technology classrooms are reserved for larger classes. Currently, advanced students with a strong interest in interactive advertising are either directed to independent study with interested faculty or to courses in other parts of the university. If more students become interested in the Web through the demonstrations in the introductory class, the program faculty may wish to consider offering an occasional special topics class related to interactive advertising. Such a class could explore both the positive and negative aspects of the Web as an advertising medium, moving beyond the simple demonstrations appropriate for the introductory course.

Appendix 1

COMM 320 -- Spring 1995
Computer Use Questionnaire

1. How often do you use your computer account on the university system? (By this, I mean the account that gives you access to e-mail, CLASSNEWS, the university Gopher, the Internet, etc.)

n=66

Daily	6
Several times a week	13
Once a week	10
Every few weeks	13
Never	24

2. If you do use your account, which of the following functions do you use regularly, that is, most/every time you use the computer? (Mark all that apply.)

n=42

e-mail	38
Gopher	13
NETNEWS user groups	8
CLASSNEWS	23

3. If you don't use your account, which of the reasons below best explains why you don't use your computer account?

n=24

No access to a computer with the necessary software	2
Have access to a computer, but don't know how to use the necessary software	13
No interest in using the functions associated with the account	5
Other	4
Hardware problems (1)	
No time (3)	

4. Have you ever checked out a site on the World Wide Web?

n=66

Yes	24
No	42

Appendix 1 (continued)

5. If you have checked out a Web site, which of the reasons below best explains what motivated you to access the Web for the first time?

n=24

Was interested in one of the sites demonstrated in this class	15
Had already tested out Web sites prior to this class	3
Other	5
Friend's recommendation (3)	
Exploring (2)	

6. If you have checked out Web sites, how often do you access the Web?

n=24

Daily	1
Several times a week	1
Once a week	8
Every few weeks	13

7. If you haven't accessed the Web, which of the reasons below best explains why you haven't checked out any Web sites?

n=42

No access to a computer with the necessary software	6
Have access to a computer, but don't know how to use the necessary software	18
No interest in the World Wide Web	6
Other	13
No time (11)	
Forget to look (1)	
Don't know site addresses (1)	

8. Which of the following kinds of computer software do you feel comfortable using? (Check all that apply.)

n=66

Word processing packages (WordPerfect, Word, etc.)	63
Spreadsheet programs (Excel, Lotus, etc.)	14
Statistical packages (SAS, SPSSPC+, etc.)	1
Games	26
None	2

9. Finally, do you have your own computer here at school?

n=66

No	43
Yes	23
Mac (5); Mac with modem (3)	
IBM/compatible (3), IBM/compatible with modem (12)	

Appendix 2

Resources for World Wide Web Users

There are several useful sources for finding advertising and marketing sites on the Web:

Advertising Age publishes a weekly section on "Interactive Media & Marketing." This section regularly carries announcements of new home pages as well as occasional reviews of Web sites.

Adweek also carries information on Web sites, and publishes a quarterly report on interactive media. The magazine has sponsored several seminars on interactive advertising, some of which have been offered to academics at a reduced price through American Academy of Advertising Industry Fellowships.

Entertainment Weekly magazine carries regular listings of media- and entertainment-related Web sites.

Yahoo, a directory function on Netscape, lists Web sites in a wide range of categories, including Business, News, Magazines, Marketing, and others.

INET-MARKETING is a newsgroup for people who are interested in marketing products and services over the Internet and the Web. It's a useful source for Web sites, and for keeping up with the challenges facing would-be electronic marketers. To subscribe, send an e-mail message to LISTPROC@EINET.NET . In the body of the message, write SUBSCRIBE INET-MARKETING <FIRST NAME> <LAST NAME> . (Omit the brackets and fill in your own first and last name.)

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IN DEFENSE

OF

PUFFERY

by

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ABSTRACT

This article defends puffery as a friend of the consumer. It argues that the most important protection consumers have against the excesses of sellers is not government but competition. It agrees that lies and deceptive exaggeration should never be protected but contends that the puffery doctrine, today, primarily protects an advertiser's right to persuade. Take that away and it would decrease competition and result in the consumer having fewer choices with higher prices.

IN DEFENSE OF PUFFERY

The first thing that must be acknowledged is that the title does, indeed, seem to present a formidable task. The word "puffery," evokes a world of negative images, blowing hot air into a product claim, blowing smoke at the public, deceiving by exaggerating, lying a little. It's the ad in the paper announcing a new arthritis pain remedy (when the only active ingredient is aspirin). It's the slick TV pitchman oozing, "This fabulous little kitchen tool originally sold for $29.95..." (when only his mother ever bought one for that price and then on the condition he take her out to dinner). Who could, or would even want to, defend that?

Let it be clear from the beginning, not the author. There will be no attempt here to defend the term, "puffery," or what it implies. There will, however, be an earnest attempt to defend at least part of what the term has come to mean in the courts after many years of refinement, i.e., the right of advertisers to persuade.

Two recent events have brought that right under new attack. The first is the publication of Ivan Preston's book, The Tangled Web They Weave: Truth, Falsity and Advertisers.[1] In it he denounces puffery as claims that can be false and yet acceptable[2] and he puts it among "the jumble of claims the advertisers create in their generally successful attempt to avoid illegal falsity while also avoiding large portions of the truth."[3]

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[1] Preston, Ivan L., The Tangled Web They Weave : Truth, Falsity and Advertisers, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI, 1994.

[2] Ibid. P.103.

The second is the recent attempt to eliminate the puffery doctrine from the Uniform Commercial Code. This code is a document produced by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws which becomes the model for state laws around the country. The current code has been adopted, with only minor revisions, by 49 out of the 50 states. Clearly, any change has sweeping, significant effects.

The existing document acknowledges that puffing statements which are merely the seller's opinion or commendation of the goods do not constitute affirmations that create express warranties.[4] The first proposed revision carried the language, "An affirmation of fact or promise by the seller...to the buyer which relates to the goods presumptively becomes part of the agreement between the seller and buyer and creates an express warranty that the goods will conform to the affirmation or promise."[5] According to the Reporter's Notes, that meant "the threshold distinction between 'affirmations of fact' and 'puffing' is eliminated. Everything the seller says about the goods 'presumptively' becomes part of the agreement."[6] The only exception was "if the seller establishes by clear and convincing evidence that the buyer was unreasonable in concluding that an affirmation, promise, description or sample became part of the agreement."[7] Obviously, this put the burden of proof squarely on the seller.

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[3] Ibid., P.3.

[4] The American Law Institute and National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, Uniform Commercial Code (hereinafter called UCC) Section 2-313(2), Chicago.

[5] UCC Discussion Draft, July 29, 1994, Section 2-313(a)(1).

A later revision of these proposed changes softens them considerably but still seems to leave the burden of proof with the seller. Back is language that says, "...an affirmation merely of the value of the goods or a statement purporting to be merely the seller's opinion or commendation of the goods does not create an express warranty."[8] The Reporter's Notes declare that, once again, there is a distinction drawn between an express warranty and "puffing."[9] However, the new draft also says, "An express warranty and any affirmation of value or statement of opinion or commendation...presumptively become part of an agreement.... However, no obligation is created if the seller proves by clear and affirmative evidence that the affirmation or statement was not an express warranty or that the buyer was unreasonable in concluding that any express warranty became part of the agreement."[10] This leaves the advertising industry wondering if it still means every word in every ad will sooner or later need to be proved.

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[6] Ibid. Reporter's Notes, second paragraph.

[7] UCC Discussion Draft, July 29, 1994, Section 2-313(b).

[8] UCC Discussion Draft, February 16, 1995. Section 2-313(a).

[9] Ibid. Reporters Note no. 2.

[10] Ibid. Section 2-313(d).

There will surely be more discussions and more revisions. As it appears now, most state laws will continue to make some allowances for puffery. It is not the purpose here to speculate about what they will be. Instead, it is to discuss why they are important.

Preston, in an earlier book, The Great American Blowup: Puffery in Advertising and Selling,[11] developed the idea that the courts' protection of puffery was a throwback to the old days of "sellerism" when the rule of the marketplace was "caveat emptor" (buyer beware). In this new day of "consumerism," he argues, puffery has no place and should be abolished. There's a lot of good sense in that as there is in much of Preston's work. But, again, it's that word "puffery" that clouds the issue. It implies that what the courts are protecting is the right of sellers and advertisers to puff up the facts, their right to lie. And yes, sometimes that is what is being protected. When it is, the proper thing to do is agree with Preston and say, "Let's stop it. Now!"

However, nowadays, most of what the courts are protecting, even though they call it "puffery," is neither exaggeration nor lies. It is persuasion. It is the right of advertisers to compete for consumers' attention and for their business on other than strictly factual grounds. And, after all, man does not live by facts alone.

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[11] Preston, Ivan L., The Great American Blowup: Puffery in Advertising and Selling, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI, 1975.

In his much quoted essay that launched the Journal of Advertising" Charles Sandage declared that society holds advertising responsible to inform (give the facts) and also persuade. What's more, he maintained this function of informing and persuading had social value. "It is a proper and justifiable social goal," he said, "to help consumers maximize their satisfactions."[12] And he seemed to recognize the special value of persuasion in doing that when he said, "...advertising, to be successful, must understand or anticipate basic human needs and wants and interpret available goods and services in terms of their want-satisfying abilities."[13]

An advertiser's right to persuade is a right which even the most avid consumerist (especially the most avid consumerist) should want to protect because it has far more benefit to consumers than it does to advertisers.

In the way of those benefits, let's talk first about the "value added" concept, the idea that persuasion can increase the value of a product or service. It's a subjective increase, of course. It exists only "in the eye of the beholder." The product just tastes better, or looks better or feels better. Consumers often have more confidence in what they do because they are using a product that has been persuasively advertised. Consumers often get a feeling of well being because they have chosen a product or service they have been persuaded to believe is a smart choice. These are not provable or even measurable values. They cannot be warranted. But they are real nonetheless.

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[12] Sandage, Charles H., "Some Institutional Aspects of Advertising," Journal of Advertising, Vol.1, No.1, 1972, P.8.

[13] Ibid., P.7.

The value added concept has often been scoffed at by those who say these values are false and therefore worthless. Or it has been condemned as a trick to charge higher prices. The very fact that a seller sometimes can get a higher price simply because of brand equity developed by advertising certainly argues against the contention added values are worthless. And those who would strip away the right of a consumer to pay a little more in order to feel a little better are not consumerists at all. They are simply elitists.

Not everyone believes that Burger King makes "The Best Darn Burger in the Whole Wide World." Most would interpret that slogan to mean,"a darn good burger that we believe is the best you'll ever find." But what of those who take it literally? Have they been hoodwinked and damaged by this rash, impossible-to-prove statement? If they went out of their way to obtain this product or paid more for it do they deserve a recompense that only those of us who know better can obtain for them? "Yes!" shout the hordes of frivolous suit filers, rubbing their hands at the prospect of suing every advertiser who makes any statement that can't be proved with hard evidence.

But those who truly have the interests of consumers at heart would say, instead, "Let them enjoy that extra bit of hearty flavor. It's there for them because they believe in it. Who are we to tell them otherwise?" Nor would they try to punish the company that instilled the idea this burger is better than any other. How could they? The fact is, for these folks, it is.

In The Tangled Web, Preston condemns the Vic Tanny slogan, "You don't just shape your body, you shape your life," as the bottom of a slippery slope. The only factual promise they can make, he says, is "that your membership will give you access to the health club's exercise machines, aerobics classes and swimming pool." This, he claims, "is related only ambiguously to the social goal you may have."[14]

Ambiguous indeed! What could be more directly related to joining a health club than improving your health--and with it your outlook about yourself and the shape of your life? Exercise machines, aerobics classes and swimming pools are simply means to that end. What's the matter with advertising the end?

Tanny is simply following Sandage's advice by interpreting exercise machines and aerobic classes in terms of their want-satisfying abilities. This advertising doesn't even try to add value. It simply points out a value, a socially desirable value at that, which is really there. It is truthful. It is ethical. It should also continue to be legal.

The most important benefit that an advertisers' right to persuade has for the consumer is much more tangible than "value added" and much easier to explain. It stems from the fact that the best protection consumers have against sellers is not government lawmakers nor government regulators nor government courts. It is competition among sellers. If a precedent of law is in place that preserves and encourages competition, no matter what it is called and no matter how it developed, it is a strong friend to the consumer. The doctrine of puffery is such a precedent.

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[14] Op. Cit. P.85.

Consider the chilling effect on competition if laws were passed to exclude all puffery from advertising. Advertisers would be reluctant to make statements they could not back up with hard evidence in a court of law. They would, in effect, be denied the ability to compete on anything other than factual grounds.

Thousands of products do not compete on factual grounds because they are essentially the same. Others do not compete on factual grounds because the facts are complex and difficult to explain. Yet they do compete in the realm of imaginative persuasion and, as a result, the consumer gains wider choices and lower prices.

A complete ban on puffery would freeze many categories against entry by new competitors. If the entrant did not have a provable product advantage there would be nothing to promote, nothing to bring the product to the favorable attention of the target market.

Suppose, for instance, a manufacturer wanted to enter a food or beverage category because the people there had discovered a somewhat different combination of flavorings that would be pleasing to a significant segment of the market. At present they could gain trial with an advertising strategy that said, in effect, "You'll like our different taste." If puffery were declared illegal they would be afraid to enter the market because they would almost certainly be challenged by a class action suit claiming the company had not fulfilled its promise. Those seeking damages would simply have to attest they did not like the taste.

For those who worry that any tolerance of puffery will let too many deceptive factual claims slip through the cracks, it seems the courts and regulatory bodies have been quite successful in separating affirmations of fact which need substantiation from persuasive statements that do not.[15]

In the courts, statements that a company's printing presses would accept certain sizes and weights of paper, that they would make a specified number of impressions per hour and that they had superior inking systems and precise inking controls were held to be affirmations of fact.[16] Also held as affirmations of fact were a statement that a floor covering would absorb considerable flex without cracking[17] and a statement that paneling would not turn black or discolor even after years of exposure.[18] Even the somewhat nebulous statement that a particular drain cleaner was "safe" was held to be an affirmation of fact.[19]

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[15] Edelstein, Jeffrey S. and Wood, Douglas J., letter to the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Law, February 17, 1995. Unpublished. The author is greatly indebted to Edelstein and Wood for the examples and their citations which follow. These attorneys, with the law firm of Hall Dickler Kent Friedman & Wood, New York, prepared a letter of objection to the proposed UCC revisions on behalf of the advertising industry. That letter also credits: Herbrand, John S. "Annotation: What Constitutes 'Affirmation of Fact' Giving Rise to Express Warranty Under UCC Section 2-313(1)(a)," 94 American Law Review 3d 729 (1994) and UCC Case Digest Section 2-313:03 (1992).

On the other hand, statements that a company's business was "providing the right truck for your business"[20] and the slogan, "You meet the nicest people on a Honda,"[21] were not considered affirmations of fact.

The Federal Trade Commission, the primary federal agency regulating advertising, holds that if an advertiser makes an objective claim regarding the performance, efficacy or quality of a product, it must have substantiating evidence.[22] But it does not expect substantiation for claims "which are not capable of measurement or which consumers would not take seriously, for example, an advertisement touting a foreign sports car as 'the sexiest European.'"[23] The Commission has said it "generally will not bring advertising cases based on subjective claims (taste, feel, appearance, smell) or on correctly stated opinion claims if consumers understand the source and limitations of the opinion."[24]

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[16] Drier v. Perfection, Inc. 259 NW2nd 496 (S.D. 1977).

[17] Interco, Inc. v. Randustrial Corp., 533 SW2d 257 (Mo. App. 1976).

[18] General Supply & Equipment Co. v. Phillips, 490 SW2d 913 (Tex. Civ. App. 1972).

[19] Drayton v. Jiffie Chemical Corp., 395 F.Supp. 1081 (ND Ohio 1975.).

[20] Shaw v. General Motors Corp., 727 P.2nd 387 (Colo. App. 1986).

[21] Baughn v. Honda Motor Co., 727 P.2d 655 (1986).

[22] In the matter of Pfizer, Inc., 81 F.T.C. 23, 64 (1972).

The advertising industry's self regulatory body, the National Advertising Division of the Council of Better Business Bureaus, held that a television commercial showing a young boy bouncing around a living room while an announcer asked, "Too much sugar and junk in you kid's snacks?" constituted a claim that needed substantiation. The claim, it said, was that sugary snacks will cause disruptive or hyperactive behavior in children and the fact that the visual was humorous and/or exaggerated did not negate the need for substantiation.[25]

It did not, however, in the context of a particular print advertisement, require substantiation for the slogan, "The earth's most comfortable shoes."[26]

Finally, in the words of a number of advertising practitioners who were asked to comment on the proposed changes in the Uniform Commercial Code, a ban on puffery would "take the creativity out of advertising"[27] turning it into "the land of the bland."[28]

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[23] In re Bristol-Meyers Co., 102 F.T.C. 21, 321(1983), aff'd. 738 F.2nd 554 (2d Cir. 1984), cert. denied, 469 U.S. 1189 (1985).

[24] In the matter of Cliffdale Associates, Inc., 103 F.T.C. 110 (1984).

[25] Jerome Foods, Inc./Gobble Stix Turkey Snacks, NAD Case Reports (April 1994).

[26] Wolverine Worldwide, Inc./Hush Puppies Shoes, NAD Case Reports (April 1994).

"It is akin to prohibiting style and flair from literature."[29] It would destroy "advertising's capacity to amuse, intrigue, captivate, charm and reflect popular culture."[30]

That suggests a way to get the public interested in this issue. Just tell people their elected officials have decided there is not enough dull advertising around today. They want to make it so all advertising has to be dull. Why? Why, to protect you, of course.

That should get something started.

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[27] Pollack, Jim, letter to National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws in appendix to Edelstein and Wood letter, Op.cit.

[28] Nilsson, Bruce, Ibid.

[29] Sutherland, Ross, letter to Jeffrey Edelstein. Ibid.

[30] Bihuniak, Paul J., Ibid.

MERGING THE TEACHING OF ADVERTISING AND PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGNS ONTO THE INFORMATION SUPERHIGHWAY

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Abstract

The American Association for Higher Education is interested in how computers and online communication technologies can help contribute to the teaching and learning process. There are ways, it believes, for professors to incorporate the use of online services into their courses without having to rethink their approaches to teaching. The authors raise the issue as to whether advertising and public relations curricula have kept up with the advances in this technology. They argue and discuss the need for, and the merits of, incorporating the Internet and related services into the teaching of campaigns and techniques courses and offer some applications.

Introduction

A leading business magazine recently featured a cover story which proclaimed that the Internet would change the way business is conducted around the world ("The Internet," 1994). Indeed, we know that it will, because the process has begun and has started to accelerate.

When Bell Atlantic opened its World Wide Web (WWW) site on the Internet in the fall of 1994, for example, the Philadelphia-based telecommunication and information services provider joined a growing number of business users that are quickly converting what was once the exclusive domain of academics and government scientists into what they hope will become the "virtual mall" of the next century.

Bell Atlantic's WWW site was installed only months after the company had gone online with an e-mail "listserv," which it uses to distribute press releases and public relations materials to the media, government officials and interested Internet "surfers." According to Eric Rabe, who was responsible for Bell Atlantic's entrance into cyber-public relations, the e-mail distribution program has signed up more than 400 individuals--four times the number of people reached in the days when the company relied exclusively on the postal service to mail press releases to the media (E. Rabe, personal communication, September 28, 1994). Rabe, Bell Atlantic's director of corporate relations, is aware that those 400 individuals include government regulators, Clinton Administration officials, academics, consumer advocates, and even competitors. The goal of the service, he explained, was to extend the company's influence among communication policy-makers and to project the image that the company is on the cutting edge of technology.

In the fall of 1993, Bell Atlantic made its first entrance on the information superhighway with the establishment of a gopher server--a location on the Internet that allows users to browse through documents and materials stored by an organization in a public site--and an "ftp" archive--a site that allows users to download documents from a remote computer system to their own. In one 60-day period, shortly after the gopher server was launched, more than 20,000 "connections"--individuals who logged onto the server--were made and more than 60,000 documents were examined. "We were actually stunned by that," Rabe explained (E. Rabe, personal communication, September, 28, 1994).

The "Web" site, ftp archive, and gopher site provides users with access to company histories, recent press releases, profiles of corporate officers, texts of testimonies given by Bell Atlantic executives to Congressional committees, product and service information, and the names and e-mail addresses of FCC commissioners. The "Web" server even provides a sample letter supporting Bell Atlantic's position on a FCC-related regulatory issue and allows the user to electronically send the letter with his or her name attached.

As many as 21,700 commercial domains or "storefronts"--from J.C. Penneys to Embassy Suites Hotels to Tupperware--are available on the "Web." That represents more than a 200 percent increase in the past three years ("The Internet," 1994). The Web allows users to see video, hear the voice of a sales person, and to scan through attractively designed "ads" of products that range from cars, to boxer shorts, to fine art. By clicking their mouse on a photograph, for example, they are reconnected instantly to another system that allows them to see and hear video footage related to the photo. By clicking on the name of a product, users receive additional information about the product as well as information on how to order it.

The popularity of the "Web" as a "business address" has spawned cottage industries that include "Internet entrepreneurs," marketing experts, and advertising agencies that specialize in getting customers to enter the world of "digital commerce" ("The Internet," 1994; Lewis, 1995; Wiseman, 1994). The "Web" has been described as the Internet's "business district," with the cost of setting up shop online ranging from about $14,000 to $50,000 (Bollinger, 1995).

Thousands of businesses flocked to the Internet in 1994, and giant corporations are

> investing billions of dollars in digital technology needed to link them with their customers and suppliers through all sorts of "interactive" services. All are chasing an emerging market of millions of affluent and computer-savvy customers--as many as 200 million by the end of the next decade--in a rapidly expanding global marketplace. (Lewis, 1995, p. C1)

While the online market may be in its infancy, business users are encouraged by the slow, but steady diffusion rate. Currently, about 33 percent of U.S. households have personal computers and that number is expected to reach 60 percent by 1998. Twelve percent of those household users have modems, and 6 percent subscribe to online services--one-fifth to two or more (Decker, 1994). Several company's are now racing to develop technology to allow for the encryption of credit card numbers in hopes of simplifying online transactions (Smith, 1994; Kim, 1994). One expert predicts that by the year 2000 commerce on the Internet will exceed $2 billion (Forbes, 1994).

In the world of advertising, for example, the e-mail capabilities of the Internet and online communication services have created "virtual offices," facilitating changes in the way staffers interact with their "office."

Much has been written about the remodeling of Chiat/Day's offices. Last year, Chiat/Day went "virtual" using technology to let staffers complete work without assigned work spaces, often on half-day intervals. When they're not in the office, they are connected by the Internet and e-mail. People are free to work at home or out of their car and are encouraged to spend more time at their clients' businesses. This way, according to Chiat/Day, the company's assets are more likely to be working 24 hours a day. Good work requires thinking and access to information. Showing up for work doesn't necessarily get the job done ("Making virtual office," 1994). Laurie Coots, director of business development at Chait/Day, explained:

> It really doesn't matter where you are at 9 a.m. or 5 p.m.; what matters is that the

> client's needs are being met. Sometimes that means a team meeting; sometimes that means e-mail from the beach. ("Re-engineering," 1994)

Schell/Mullaney claims to be the world's smallest global agency and, according to *Advertising Age*, it might be right. The 30-person New York-based agency in one week produces advertising that runs in 29 countries. Thanks to the Internet, and various online services, the agency communicates with its clients via e-mail worldwide ("Re-engineering," 1994).

Richard Grove, chief executive officer of the public relations and media-consulting firm, Primetime, has created a "virtual" boardroom for a "virtual corporation." Without formal offices, Primetime employees work up their clients' publicity campaigns in their "virtual" environment of e-mail networks and faxes, usually working from their houses. "I can offer something most other public relations firms can't--freedom," explains Grove. By passing problems and information through time zones, companies can work around the clock to deliver solutions. And, according to Grove, "The one who gets there first with the information is the winner" ("For techno nomads," 1994).

"The Internet is not just a process; it's potential," wrote *Agency* magazine editor Geoffrey Precourt. "As it will clearly change the way we communicate with one another, so it will change the ways that agencies find to make a connection with their customers" ("Networking," 1995, p. 8).

It should be no surprise then that Darin Richins, product public relations manager for Utah-based WordPerfect Corporation, suggests that future advertising and public relations professionals will spend increasingly more time managing and using database and information services as well as going online to connect with clients, the media, and customers (D. Richins, personal communication, August 11, 1993) .

Purpose of this Paper

This raises the issue, however, as to whether public relations and advertising curricula have kept up with the advances in technology. Further, it raises questions as to how online technologies, and the Internet in particular, can be incorporated into classroom instruction. The purpose of this article is to suggest ways in which the Internet, e-mail, and online services can be used as an effective teaching tools in undergraduate courses. The paper draws upon the experiences of the authors, who have incorporated the use of this technology in capstone advertising and public relations courses in their department. In one sense, students may be introduced to the virtual office of the future, by being exposed to a virtual classroom experience today.

Where the Highway Begins

The Information Superhighway may be an unfortunate metaphor. A recent Freedom Forum study reports that the term is not clearly descriptive of the broad communication system and uses it tries to describe. However, this is the name commonly used to label the advanced technological connections of the telephone, television and computer, resulting in an interactive media system. On one side of the highway there are those interested in creating media and messaging. On the other side there are those interested in receiving information ("Separating fact," 1994).

At a panel discussion sponsored by the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center in February, 1994, Philip Elmer-Dewitt of *TIME* noted that the Information Superhighway means different things to different people. For example:

RBOCs

The regional Bell operating companies (RBOCs) view the highway as a way to increase sales by providing people with new ways to transmit voice, data and graphics over their network. They are also eyeing the future transmission of video and entertainment.

Cable and Broadcast

The cable and broadcast companies are interested in distribution of their content in new forms. They are particularly interested in expanding the number of cable channels and programs and interactive technology.

Computer Industry

Computer-related companies see the highway as a connection of computer users who connect online with databases, interest groups and bulletin boards. This aspect is the most fully developed through the Internet and recent introduction of consumer online services such as CompuServe, Prodigy and America Online. ("For techno nomads," 1994)

About the Internet

The Internet is a global web of approximately 30,000 computer networks, 2.2 million computers and 20 million people in more than 70 countries. It connects users to thousands of databases and allows people to communicate worldwide almost instantaneously. No one really runs the Internet; it is more of a cooperative. Internet was established by the U.S. Defense Department in 1969 to connect the Pentagon with defense researchers in academia and business.

In 1986, the National Science Foundation promoted the non-defense use of the Internet by creating a special network, NSFNet. Universities started plugging into NSFNet and by the late 1980s, students at many colleges obtained Internet access. As new technology and on-line services made it easier to use, more individuals and businesses started using Internet for communication, selling, shopping and research ("The Internet," 1994).

Anyone with a personal computer and a modem can get connected to the Net for as little as $15 a month. Online services such as CompuServe, America Online and Prodigy offer limited access to the Internet. Other companies such as Delphi Internet provide direct Internet accounts.

Perhaps one part of the Internet that is now the easiest to use is the World Wide Web, which operates like the "help" screens on a Windows or Macintosh computer. The World Wide Web is useful for "cyber surfing" for information and is quickly being expanded for commercial purposes by the media and marketers.

Like Bell Atlantic, both advertising agencies and public relations firms are starting to realize the more and more consumers are collecting information from the Internet. Most have targeted the World Wide Web, an information-retrieval system that allows the use of multimedia. Rather than broadcasting messages, which are loathed in cyberspace, many marketers are setting up databases which allow consumers to browse at will. The databases combine graphics and sound plus a variety of files that can be opened for additional information.

Communication or e-mail is probably the easiest and most powerful application of the Internet that a company can employ. Because the virtual electronic post is so much faster than telephone calling and traditional postal services, people are doing things with e-mail they never could before. E-mail users can share their thoughts with dozens of others almost instantaneously around the world. It is typically no more expensive that postal mail. It saves trees. It eliminates phone tag and can be delivered at any time. It is a key contributor to the "Information Revolution."

Merging onto the Information Superhighway

The American Association for Higher Education is seriously interested in how computers and other technologies can help contribute to teaching. There are ways, it believes, for professors to incorporate the use of computers in coursework without necessarily rethinking their approaches to teaching ("Making higher education," 1994).

The authors' premise is that Advertising and Public Relations Campaigns courses offer

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professors and students a variety of opportunities to combine computer-related technology and traditional coursework. Further, this range of opportunities can rather easily be tailored to fit an individual university's available resources.

The majority of four year colleges and universities and a smaller percentage of community colleges already are connected to the Internet. Access to the Information Superhighway will soon be universal. The goal of the Clinton administration is to have all the nation's schools and libraries connected by the year 2,000 (Boldt, Gustafson, & Johnson, 1994).

Some of the benefits of incorporating the use of e-mail and the Internet in marketing and economics courses have been discussed in several recent articles. These overall benefits also apply to Advertising and Public Relations Campaigns. Three strong pedagogical reasons are:

1. The use of the Net increases students' knowledge of telecommunications and computer networks.

2. The use of the Net requires writing. And, according to the Writing Across Curriculum (WAC), the more writing students do, the better their writing and analytical skills become. (Hansen, 1994)

3. The use of e-mail and the virtual classroom increases the opportunity for student-teacher involvement. Students may be less intimidated about asking questions via e-mail and instructors may reply confidentially. E-mail may also foster more student teamwork as it increases contact and collaborative opportunities. (Baker, 1994)

Unquestionably, the use of the Internet requires and improves upon a number of skills including: verbal, written, critical thinking, computer and telecommunications. Educators have an obligation to students and employers to develop these essential skills (Hansen, 1994).

Suggestions for Steering a Campaigns Course

In the past year, both authors (one advertising professor and the other a public relations professor) have experimented with and incorporated the use of e-mail and certain aspects of the Internet in their upper-level Advertising Campaigns and Public Relations Techniques courses. The following discussion will include the various applications/assignments implemented, the benefits incurred, student reactions and additional uses of the "Net "yet to be tried.

1. Electronic Mail--Reporting

For an Advertising Campaigns class the use of e-mail communication was written into the syllabus as a course requirement and grading consideration. The class was divided into competitive "agency teams" and assigned a semester-long project to develop an integrated marketing communications campaign for a national brand.

Each student was given his or her own individual e-mail address as well as a team distribution e-mail address. The instructor listed his e-mail address on the course syllabus. Consequently, the instructor could communicate via e-mail with all team members privately or collectively. Personal and group e-mail communications were possible among each team of students. In effect, we created a virtual classroom and virtual agency teams.

Each team was required to file contact/status reports via e-mail within 48 hours after weekly meetings with the instructor (client). These reports were considered as part of "account service" and were factored into the team's final grade.

The contact e-mail reports help the students organize their work and stay on top of projects. Students learn how to write effective reports and grow more familiar with the Internet and virtual office concept. Importantly, e-mail reporting allows the instructor to monitor each team's progress more effectively and provide immediate feedback.

2. Electronic Mail--Collaboration

Beyond the benefits of more frequent status reports, tighter control, clearer expectations and immediacy, there was a noticeable increase in instructor-student involvement and group teamwork. Both individuals and teams frequently contacted the instructor via e-mail to ask questions or "bounce ideas around." The Net seems to be a less intimidating outlet for some students to ask questions or contribute ideas. If responses get lengthy or complicated, they can be stored on the computer or printed out for future use.

One complaint often heard when teaching a campaigns class is that students have trouble finding a convenient time to meet as a team. Some have conflicting class schedules, others work and so on. While e-mail cannot replace the need for team meetings, it certainly can contribute to better communication and teamwork. The instructors found that the students appreciated the opportunity to establish closer working relationships with their teammates via the Net and to have "around the clock" access. Teams often met in the evening or late night and on many occasions would compose e-mail messages for the instructor to be read first thing in the morning, "so everyone could be on the same page."

3. Computer-Assisted Research

When most people talk about the Internet, or the Information Superhighway, they usually refer only to the e-mail capabilities of the network. That is like driving across country and never stopping to check out the scenery, sample the local cuisine, or visit the local landmarks. Learning how to use the Internet to conduct research "searches" is vitally important to advertising and public relations students and employers. Campaigns students, especially, need recent information not found in textbooks. Both of the authors devised a number of exercises designed to help their students get on and off the superhighway in order to assist their research activities.

In an upper-division public relations writing and techniques course, students were given a series of "case" situations involving actual companies. Although fictitious products were used in the assignments, students were expected to obtain actual company information. This included historical background, data on current senior-level company officers, product and service information, and company background information relating to key issues and actions.

A frequent "client," for example, has been Apple Computer. In one "case" situation, the students were told they were required develop a media kit to be distributed at a press conference to unveil a new line of computers. In order to complete the assignment, students were required to produce a corporate history and biographical sketches of key Apple executives. Students were instructed on how to access the Apple information online, which they used to collect the information needed to produce the various written assignments. Students were also able to access company information that was incorporated into the press releases which appeared in their media kits. Another recent assignment involved writing press releases announcing the appointment of senior-level executives. Students were shown how to access the Bell-Atlantic "Web" page and how to connect to the biographical sketches of key executives with that company.

In order to teach students to use the Internet for research purposes, the instructor has developed a guide, "Computer-Assisted Research: A (Very Modest) Guide to Surfing the Internet." In this guide students are instructed on how to access gopher servers, the Usenet and other newsgroups, ftp archive sites, and how to conduct an "Archie" search. Telnet and "finger" commands also are reviewed. The students also are introduced to WWW sites.

For example, students are provided step-by-step directions on how to access the gopher sites maintained by NASA and the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST), where they are directed to archives for press releases, media advisories, additional story ideas and contact sources, and general information. The NIST, for example, maintains a section on its server called the "NIST Science Beat," where it "pitches" story ideas and provides background for reporters who cover that governmental agency. Students are also shown how to access the "Electronic Newsstand," a gopher server that allows them to conduct, by topic and publication, online searches of more than 100 current and recent news and trade publications, such as Business Week,

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Computerworld, The Economist, Inc. Magazine, the Internet Letter, Labor Trends, and the Western Journal of Medicine, to name just a few. The guide also instructs students on how to access government information available at ftp sites, such as the complete text of the original Clinton Health Care Reform Proposal.

The goal of the exercises is to familiarize students with the resources available online. They learn to search for information about their "clients," their competitors, and about issues and background information that might directly or indirectly impact their clients. Student reaction has been very positive. One measure of success is the quality of materials being produced for the written projects and assignments. Students are able to produce "professional quality" materials using real world information and scenarios. Many include the assignments from this class in their portfolios.

4. Electronic Information Services

This summer the authors' university will make available another computer-assisted research application--Lexis/Nexis from Mead Data General, Inc. For more than 15 years, Lexis-Nexis has provided computer-assisted research services to business and universities. Users simply ask the system to look for documents containing key words of their choice. The system then scans hundreds of databases for documents and can provide full-text or references only. Sources include: business and trade information, news and current events, regional information, company financials, regulatory data, government information and legal records.

Lexis/Nexis is a proverbial gold mine of information for a campaigns class and offers a "real-world" opportunity of experience in that many companies currently use it as a primary information resource. In one trial run, the authors looked at a search of 1994 business articles containing three key words: CHRYSLER and NEON and ADVERTISING. Our search found 282 articles. In future semesters, student teams will be assigned time to use Lexis-Nexis to assist their situation analyses of industries, companies and brands.

In addition to Lexis/Nexis, public relations students are also exposed to information about other online services such as Dow Jones News/Retrieval, DataTimes, Dialog, and a number of industry-manufacturing specific services, such as EEI-Online, which is operated by the Edison Electrical Institute. In the Public Relations Techniques course, for example, students are shown how these online services are used in media relations, news tracking, and issues management. In addition to the news archives maintained by these services, the students are also shown how "real-time" searches are conducted using these services. "Real-time" searching allows practitioners to track stories as they move across dozens of different news and business wires, reducing a process that once took days and weeks down to just hours and minutes.

Student Reactions

Overall, students embraced the idea of incorporating the Internet and use of e-mail in their campaigns classes. They used the system throughout the semester to file status reports, ask questions, collaborate on ideas and schedule meeting dates with their instructor and among themselves. Most reported that e-mail made communication easier and fostered better teamwork.

An informal classroom survey was conducted in one Advertising Campaigns class in order to learn more about student attitudes toward e-mail. On a 5-point scale (from #1 strongly disagree to #5 strongly agree), students were asked to respond to two statements:

1. It is important to learn how to use e-mail and Internet as many companies will expect employees to use it in the future.

2. Writing e-mail conference reports is one more way to develop good writing skills.

The mean score for the first question (n = 38) was 4.5 and 3.8 for the second, indicating that students, overall, felt that the use of e-mail and the Internet were valuable learning experiences.

Conclusions

As has been argued and discussed in the paper, the authors believe that advertising and public relations instructors must find innovative ways to incorporate the "Information Superhighway" and its services into our curricula. Students must be introduced to the services available online and shown how those services will be applied in their work-a-day worlds.

The Internet will gradually change the way business is conducted around the world. It will affect the physical corporate structure and staffing. It will affect the way companies communicate internally and externally. It will create new markets. These changes provide both new challenges and opportunities to advertising and public relations instructors. As discussed, there is a myriad of ways to meaningfully incorporate the use of the Internet in campaign and techniques courses. The results are better teamwork, an improved end-product, and a more real-world experience. In effect, as we've explained, students are introduced to the virtual office of tomorrow by being exposed to a virtual classroom environment today.

We recommend that future research seek to establish an empirical link between e-mail and Internet use and students' satisfaction, writing and research performance. We encourage the additional sharing of "case studies" explicating the creative and innovative ways in which online technologies have been incorporated into classroom instruction. Students and teachers alike will benefit from these exchanges.

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BREAKING NEW GROUND IN THE VIRTUAL MARKETPLACE: A SEARCH FOR NEW METAPHORS OF FORM AND STRUCTURE SHAPING PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATION IN THE NEW MEDIA

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BREAKING NEW GROUND IN THE VIRTUAL MARKETPLACE: A SEARCH FOR NEW METAPHORS OF FORM AND STRUCTURE SHAPING PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATION IN THE NEW MEDIA

The tools of persuasive communication, as employed in advertising and marketing, stand to be fundamentally affected by the ongoing revolution in telecommunications--the variously characterized "info superhighway", "infobahn", "new media", etc. In an age of interactivity, passive, top-down mass marketing and messaging strategy are indeed gone, but how this "new world order" will sort itself out is currently the subject of furious debate.

This paper attempts to explore the evolving nature of persuasive communication in this new, "virtual marketplace", from the standpoint of a search for new metaphors and meaning in the communicative form, structure and content currently being developed out of the new technologies. Drawing the connection that form and structure of persuasive communication in the new media seem to be following an evolutionary path similar to that of earlier, applied mediums (such as photography and broadcast), the paper focuses on the importance of metaphor as a sense-making device, and as a means of orienting audiences to the new mediums.

There is evidence to support the idea that such new metaphors may be critically important in terms of orienting communicators and audience to the shape of communication in the new mediums. In this view, metaphor is the ongoing pattern which continues to shape the very fabric of persuasive communication.

"What we are observing in cyberspace is not merely a new means of marketing, but the emergence of a new breed of consumers -- consumers who are empowered by participation in bi-directional mass media. What will be the systemic impact of this new breed of consumers upon the entrenched culture of business? There will be a thousand effects but perhaps the most critical one will have to do with feedback -- the basis of an organic system capable of adaptation, evolution, and long term survival."[1]

INTRODUCTION

"May you live in interesting times," goes the old Chinese adage, and we soon-to-be citizens of a new millennium can certainly attest to that. What is also true is that we are living in times wherein the very structure and forms of communication, especially those of persuasive communication to mass audiences, are undergoing significant and fundamental change.

These days, persuasive communicators in the fields of advertising, public relations and marketing are finding themselves confronted with an entirely new kind of marketing environment; one in which it is possible to selectively target and communicate with prospects/audiences asynchronously, entirely outside the confines of mass media and beyond the traditional barriers of space and time.

This uneasy marriage of technology and targetability, realized in the growing utilization of computer based technologies to advertise, buy and sell products on-line and to disseminate marketing, promotional and public relations messages by way of computer disk and CD-ROM has become the major topic of discussion in the communication industry; trade publications from Advertising Age to Marketing and Media Decisions now regularly carry articles on the "new media;" and ad agencies and PR firms both large and small are competing against each other to announce the opening of their new "interactive" groups.

The personal computer itself is a consumer marketing phenomenon that has begun to rival television. For example, during the most recent Consumer Electronics Show (COMDEX), the Electronic Industries Association announced that consumers bought $8 billion worth of PCs last year, not including software. Spending for televisions reached $8.3 billion.[2]

But while the discussion level is certainly high, there is still but a limited amount of analysis going on as to how these new mediums, while providing new avenues to the consumer through alternative delivery mechanisms, may also portend a paradigmatic shift away from traditional forms and structures of persuasive communication.

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[1] Strangelove, Michael (1994). The Web Has Won -- Who Will Lose? Internet Advertising Review No. 2, November, distributed by mstrange@fonorola.net.

[2] Kim, James, (1995). Sales of PCs Closing in on TVs, USA Today, Section B, Jan. 6, p. 1A.

Significance and Purpose of the Study - Methodology Used

Because messages are shaped by the media through which they they are delivered, it is therefore inevitable that the shape of persuasive communication in these new media will undoubtedly come to differ from the forms currently being used--the mostly linear, text-based structures which seem to be modeled on communicative forms in other, "older" media such as newsprint, magazines and TV.

One of the goals of this paper, therefore, was to begin to explore the ways in which persuasive communication is being shaped by the new technologies, and to analyze what that means with respect to presentation of content, conventions of form and structure, and audience receptivity and response.

While developing the research plan, it soon became apparent that, at least in terms of audience analysis, little or direct relationship has yet been done in this area. Further, given the fact that most audience members' experience of persuasive communication in the new media is still somewhat limited, it became important to not only consider audience, but "content providers", those responsible for the creative and production functions, as well. The resulting research plan, therefore, included a combination of long form interviews and contextually situated content analysis.

The working hypothesis centered around the question of trying to determine whether or not it was possible to draw a continuum with strong historical antecedents that linked early applied mediums and new mediums of communication with respect to evolution of form and structure, diffusion of technology and audience response.

In conjunction with analysis gleaned from a review of the available literature, interview case study findings were instrumental in validating this approach. Analysis also served to help predict patterns or models which could be extrapolated into the evolutionary basis for new metaphors of form and structure for persuasive communication in the new media.

There is evidence to support the idea that such new metaphors, which move beyond the printed page and extend to embrace the new possibilities and combinations of form, movement and sound made possible as a result of new media technologies, may be critically important in terms of orienting communicators and audience to the shape of communication in the new mediums. In this view, metaphor is the ongoing pattern which continues to shape the very fabric of persuasive communication.

Finding a Common Thread - Developmental Path of Applied Mediated Communication

In the beginning there was photography--an applied medium which allowed practitioners to transform reality into static, "recorded" images which ultimately could be used to communicate ideas to an audience. The early photographers' reliance on providing a "record of reality" eventually developed, as they began to realize the communicative and persuasive power of the new medium, into efforts to produce an expressive, conceptual "shape" to reality--as filtered through the photographer's vision. In this way, photographers discovered they could use the tools of composition, framing, and light and shadow interplay, to create meaning and provide an emphasis that differed, in subtle and non-linear ways, from "literal" recorded reality.

Photographers also discovered the power of the mediated image--from the early photojournalism and social documentary of Matthew Brady and Jacob Riis, to the sensationalistic yellow journalism of the 1920s and the expressive, Depression-era commentaries of Dorthea Lange, Walker Evans and Arthur Rothstein, was strong enough to sway public opinion and even promote social change.

By the turn of the century, a new applied mediated medium was beginning to take shape. The technology of cinema developed directly from that of photography; in fact, 35mm photographic film was used in early film cameras and projectors. From an aesthetic standpoint, however, form and content developed for the new medium seemed a throwback or regression to the early days of photography. (Lester, 1995)

Early films were essentially moving representations of the initial static "recorded reality" photographic images. Popular titles such as "The Sneeze," "The Kiss," etc., were in actuality, short "mini-documentaries," no more than a minute or two in length, of an actual event taking place in front of a static, non-moving camera.

Composition and framing, as established by cameramen who often came to the new medium with backgrounds in photography, was based on the photographic imperative--that of the fixed image. The form and structure of many early films, when viewed now, seems reminiscent of that of a series of theatrical "tableaux," highly stylized scenes strung together, differing from the earlier medium only in that the subjects were capable of movement within the frame. And when they happened to move outside of the frame, it usually did not occur to the cameraman to follow.

Film transmuted, ultimately, into a powerful and unique form of mediated communication by moving beyond the static structure of photography and developing a new and original cinematic "language," based on the technological possibilities of the new medium. The technological capability of film to record moving images, and then to subvert an audience's sense of real-time by splicing images together in a predefined sequence, made it possible to create complex narratives, which could be advanced using the intrinsically cinematic devices of editing: shot, scene and mise-en-scene (montage); cut, dissolve and fade; and, eventually, dialogue.

Once again, the technological possibilities of the new medium shaped its form and structure into new communicative patterns, by moving beyond early emulation of the older applied medium and the conventions of theater.

Communicators found they needed to acculturate audiences to these new narrative forms--when Edwin S. Porter's *The Great Train Robbery* was first shown in theaters, patrons ran screaming from the theater when the outlaw, shot in close-up, trained his gun on the audience. Eventually, these new sense-making structures began to function for communicator and audience as a shorthand visual language or syntax, which did not so much imitate reality or linear notions of time and space, as work within the gestalt of the new medium to create a greater meaning.

The development of communicative forms of broadcast, first radio, and then television, can also be looked at in terms of the same sort of developmental path, characterized by early emphasis on the forms and conventions of prior mediums and then eventual development of original structures of communication that inherently exploited the advantages of the new technology. Relevant examples might include radio serials and music/talk station formatting, not to mention commercial and non-commercial TV programming structures from the televised newscast to the late night talk show).

New Media and the Virtual Marketplace

The idea that new media communications technologies may follow a developmental path anchored in initial formulation of the acculturated conventions and structures of older media, combined with the tremendous explosion in current new media technologies, has created an attendant difficulty, on the communicator's part, to both try to keep pace with ongoing developments and insure that conceptual advances in content, form and structure match the targeted audience's level of acculturation and ability to assimilate.

Variously called "new media," "electronic publishing" and/or "electronic marketing," the list of current viable options includes, but may not be limited to the following:

audiotext
interactive computer disk
commercial on-line services
electronic and multimedia kiosks
Internet mall/plazas/World Wide Web sites
direct-by-satellite marketing
electronic marketing machines
interactive CD-ROM catalogs/magazines
interactive/direct TV
fax/voice mail
bulletin board services
TV shopping networks
audio-/videoconferencing
virtual reality
ATM machines

Using earlier applied media as an instructional model, it could be posited, then, that development of these new applied media may logically take the same path as their earlier ancestors. Communicators attempting to create communicative forms that bridge the gap from the old media to the new may therefore find themselves confronting a familiar set of issues--how to move content, form and structure beyond emulation and conventions borrowed from other mediums, while at the same time keeping pace with the audience's expectation set, reception capability, and diffusion rate.

It is a truism of technology diffusion studies that not all members of an audience adopt technology at the same pace, or develop the same level of affinity for the "new way." On the other hand, the drive for better, more workable narrative structures, critical to effective persuasive communication, may act to propel development of communicative forms in the new mediums beyond the emulative stage of "old wine in new bottles"- the mere reinterpretation and restyling of old structures, content and conventions in new environments.

In addition to new communicative forms with new content possibilities, the many new options made possible by the recent development of interactive computer and telecommunications technologies also offer persuasive communicators the opportunity to reject the old model of the undifferentiated, top-down mass media marketing approach, in favor of carrying on a truly interactive relationship with their audiences. That this relationship will be carried on in environments based on user modelling, customizable message options and receiver-driven exposures is but another of the formative issues that shapes a landscape of significant difference between the "old-media" paradigm and the new.

For both communicator and audience member alike, persuasive communication in the environment of the virtual marketplace may come to seem as dramatically different from the traditional forms of the magazine ad, the newsletter and the press release as the PC does from the typewriter. Further, from a communication perspective, convergence of media, when structure and form no longer drive distinguishability of delivery mechanisms, may have additional profound effects on audience response beyond that of even the advent of traditional electronic media.

Persuasive Communication and Convergence

As traditional mass media continues to fractionalize, as media costs soar, and as organizations begin to meet with success in forging communicative links based on new delivery mechanisms, it can be expected that even more ambitious efforts will be made to harness the power of cyberspace for persuasive communication purposes. The question becomes one of attempting to determine how the process and nature of communicative forms and structures will evolve when the user can choose whether, and what to see.

Analyzing this new communication dynamic in relationship to the development of advertising in electronic newspapers, Steve Yelvington, a reporter with the Minneapolis Tribune, commented, "Our ad people are mulling over another difference: the relationship of the user to the ad is changed by the technology. In our on-line product, the ads are something the customers have to choose to see. The kind of advertising that works in that context. . . (has to be). . . rich in information."[3]

But how does one begin to determine how this evolution will occur? The rise of the virtual marketplace may, in fact, serve to accelerate efforts to establish new metaphors, new standards of form and structure which can be used to communicate in the new media. The convergence of media used to reach the virtual marketplace, exemplified by newspapers and magazines making deals to be distributed electronically via cable TV and on-line service, the rise of the CD-ROM and demo disk distribution markets for product PR and the much discussed, on-again, off-again mergers among cable TV, computer software and telecommunications companies, perhaps suggests a direction for consideration of a new metaphor--one that is correlated to an accompanying communication convergence.

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[3] Yelvington, Steve, (1994). PRForum newsgroup, distributed by PRFORUM%indycm.bitnet@uga.cc.uga.edu, October 9.

As part of this new convergence in communication, the nature, content and structure of messages previously communicated in disparate media is synthesized, thereby taking on new implications and new forms of meaning.

For example, because the technologies represented by convergence are user-driven, persuasive message content, in particular, must appeal to, and stimulate, the receiver's desire to be exposed, rather than desire to purchase. From a message content perspective, this is on an entirely different plane than the traditional "call to action," which is centered around stimulating purchase behavior. In this new environment, desire to be exposed can be construed to correlate to an already strong intent to purchase or form relationship.

This is why successful fledging attempts at constructing the content and structure of such messages may end up being those which try to focus on strategies aimed at information seeking and choice behavior. These strategies, such as employing enhanced searching/editing capability, ability to stimulate curiosity and attract sustained interest, use of simulations or modelling structures, etc., seek to inform, rather than merely grab attention in an attempt to break through clutter or persuade through enumeration of features and benefits.

Further, it may be that the computer screen itself has little relationship, as an avenue for persuasive messaging, at least, to the printed page--the metaphor most often used to represent message content in the new mediums.

Printed Page vs. On-Screen Environments

In point of fact, as a product of its physicality and dimensionality, its reproduction of image and, especially color, the computer screen can be said to most resemble, not the printed page, despite the many graphics and desktop publishing software applications that so painstakingly attempt to replicate it, but the TV screen. A more useful metaphor for mediums transitioning to a state of media and communication convergence in a visually-oriented culture, could, perhaps, be based on the conventions of video as filtered through the familiarity of a particular graphical user interface.

The inadequacy of the printed page metaphor is well-recognized by most communicators in the new mediums. According to Neil Goff, vice president of R.R. Donnelly and Sons' new Database Technology Services, "the digital revolution is in its infancy. We are still in the 'recycling' stage, recycling the print version of our products. That gets you in the game, but, in the longer view, you must shift to create and output in multiple media."[4]

In this view, even desktop publishing is but a way-station on the road to true media and communication convergence. According to Haynes, "The computer industry's success in promoting desktop publishing has resulted in a business culture in which the form of paperwork--the typography and visual elements--now assumes an importance that might even distract from the content. People have become so fascinated with fonts and fancy formatting that many companies are unnecessarily complicating their transition to internal and external electronic publishing, where it is even more important that content, not form, reign supreme."[5]

The search to define the new forms and structures for persuasive communication in cyberspace is just beginning to gather force and direction. While advertisers focus on matching content to the new delivery channels, and media outlets, such as newspapers and cable TV stations, seek to expand and create new distribution outlets, through development of electronic newspapers and magazines, interactive broadcast services and newspaper-branded TV shows, most analysis tends to focus on definitions and descriptions of the various technologies in play, concentrating on differentiation, rather than synthesis.

Researchers such as Jim Willis, however, have begun to explore the consequences of media and communication convergence--the medium actually becoming the message. Willis writes, "The decade of the 1990s is witnessing the emergence of a new kind of universal news medium. . . It is as though the the ghost of such media seers as Marshall McLuhan and Harold Innis were still with us, whispering into our ears that the future is just as they predicted: that our rabid desire for the 'all at once' experience of consuming information would lead us to the exact threshold of future news--of turbonews."[6]

On the other hand, focusing on the extent to which medium, form and content relate to each other in an electronic publishing environment, Gary Cosimini, business development manager of Adobe Systems and former art director of the New York Times, argues that it is the differences among mediums in terms of the form of delivery and the relationship to the way users process information, that drives the structure, form and content of the messages they carry. (Dennis, 1994)

According to Cosimini, in addition to relative portability and physicality, horizontal vs. vertical page dimension, rendering of color, etc., there are many inherent differences between traditional and electronic publishing environments. These differences, which relate to the way a reader or viewer processes a document, must be taken into account when considering the efficacy of communication in a particular medium. Although formatic and structural in nature, they also affect content, as well as the audience's ability to comprehend, form meaning and respond.

Differences cited by Cosimini include the obvious ones, such as the difference between linear, page by page progression and the use of hypertext and linked screens, but also more subtle ones, such as the ability to judge content, length, number of pages, etc., beyond the first "page" screen, the need to allow for screen redrawing time vs. the immediacy of turning a printed page, and potential differentials in on-line attention span versus printed text. As Cosimini comments, "Disregarding the form of delivery and worrying about video is taking the issue out of context. "[7]

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[4] Taylor and Hilts, (1994) Facing up to Electronic Publishing, Publisher's Weekly, Feb. 28, p. 14.
[5] Haynes, Colin, (1994) Paperless Publishing, (pg. 74) New York: NY, Windcrest/McGraw-Hill.
[6] Willis, Jim (1994). The Age of Multimedia and Turbonews, Westport, CT: Praeger, p. 2.

Cosimini's argument is a deceptively simple one--we do not approach the electronic, on-screen environment in the same way that we do the printed page, or for that matter, our TV set at home; the context is different, the tools are different, even the way we form meaning differs. Successful use of the new media as a communications tool therefore depends on the ability to understand and predict how the technology will be integrated within a particular medium, as well as to be able to develop a defining metaphor, a standard, if you will, consistent with the range of human experience and the characteristics of the medium itself.

An Intermediary Option: The Role of Portable Document Format Software

Finally, one must also be cognizant of the fact that, as much as the computer screen differs from the printed page and the TV monitor, computer operating systems and software applications differ from each other. As long as this is the case, it will be difficult to develop such a standard. One potential solution currently undergoing scrutiny is the utilization of portable document format software (PDF), which enables pages to be reproduced on-screen exactly as they looked when first created, even if the application they were created in isn't on the computer system on which they may be currently running.

The growing use of such software may provide an alternative avenue for setting the standard for electronic presentation of information, incorporating, as it does, a sort of middle ground between the evolving visual interpretations of data and some of the more interactive conventions of text, including on-screen representations of the thumbnail page, the highlighting marker pen, and even the post-it (i.e., "sticky") note.

Some disparage PDF software, calling the applications "page turners," which, because they too closely mimic print formats, have the potential to inhibit development of truly electronic publishing standards. According to Mike Judson, director of corporate communication for the Folio Corporation, "Information is dynamic. It changes, it gets pulled apart, and put back together for a myriad of different needs. That's why it makes no sense to carry over the static nature of paper into the electronic medium. A truly electronic publishing solution doesn't mimic the static nature of paper, it removes that artificial limitation and lets people do what they need to do with the document because it is dynamic, like the information it bears."[8]

What's missing from this reasoning, however, is a consideration of how process and acculturated audience response evolve in relation to development of new communication media--and how much that evolution may be based on developmental stages which, through linkage with a known and comfortable "feel" from the past, help acclimate an audience to change in communicative form and structure that's been made possible by the technological innovations of a new medium.

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[7] Dennis, A. (1994). All the News That's Fit to Transmit, Publish, Jul. p. 34.

[8] Haynes, Ibid., p. 83.

Technology Adoption and the Diffusion Cycle

By their nature, new media audiences seem destined to remain small, loosely coupled aggregates, temporarily grouped together on the basis of a few shared characteristics, and defined as much by their information seeking habits as by anything else. The difficulty in defining new media audiences is further complicated by intransigent hardware and software compatibility issues, as well as uneven access to services, levels of computer literacy and aversion tendencies.

More than fourteen years after the birth of the personal computer, there is still no one operating system standard, and the installed base, unlike that of television sets or the VCR, varies enormously in terms of computing power, memory and system configuration. For example, even though Microsoft's Windows operating system, introduced in 1985, holds the lion's share of the market in terms of new systems sold, there is still a huge backlog of older DOS machines with limited memory and no capability to run most of the graphics and desktop publishing applications which require the newer environment. As one marketing manager and University alum commented, "Don't forget about those of us who haven't figured out how to run Windows yet."

As the above quote points out, the communication industry itself may be the most difficult audience of all. Decision-makers, after all, are still part of an era in which many of the companies they worked for achieved full installation of computer systems during their tenure; some of these companies, advertising and PR firms in particular, may have installed their first office PCs and graphics computers within the last few years.

Unlike higher education, where incidence of computer usage at management levels has been unusually high, in many communications industries, personal computer technology came in through the back door, in the form of word processing pools, reporters' CRT's and the desktop publishing applications used by graphic designers.

Even if senior communication industry executives now have a computer sitting on or near their desks, and may even be well-versed in new media technology and trade, they may not necessarily be as comfortably and casually computer literate as your average sixteen year old "mall rat," who grew up playing computer video games and hacking programs on the school's old Apple IIc.

Rank, Stock and Order Effects Models of Diffusion

Functional computer literacy, which may be loosely defined as the knowledge and ability to access and employ computer technologies as a means to achieve objectives, either conceptual (i.e., create a newsletter using desktop publishing) or contextual (improve speed and efficiency by word processing a document instead of typing it), remains somewhat of a generational phenomenom. For example, in general terms, it can be said that individuals beyond the age of fifty, those who reached maturation before the personal computer industry really took off, and whose careers do not usually depend on their technological capabilities, tend, as a group, to be technology-adverse.

This is an example of what economists call "rank" effects, which result from the assumption that potential adopters of a technology have different inherent characteristics, and, as a result, obtain different returns from the use of new technology. (Karshenas and Stoneman, (1993).

The theory of rank effects, although primarily used by economists to predict company and industry technology diffusion cycles, can, however, also be interpreted from the perspective of helping to model potential audience adoption and response to persuasive communication delivered via new media.

According to Karshenas and Stoneman, early work on diffusion concentrated on "epidemic" theories, which tended to focus too intently on a simplistic, cause and effect relationship between the degree of awareness of a technology and its potential benefits and subsequent adoption, with little regard for the many variables that either hasten or slow the adoption curve, or might even preclude adoption altogether. In this view, potential adopters of a new technology have widely differing preferred adoption rates, and at any given date, only some of the potential adopters within a given grouping might wish to become actual users.

Looked at from this perspective, a theoretical diffusion model for potential audiences of persuasive communication utilizing new media would need to identify and take into consideration variables related to demographics, prior experience with technology, professional and career interest, etc. as follows:

Diffusion Model for Audiences of Persuasive Communication Using New Media

High Level of Interest/Response

Low Level of Interest/Response

- age/prospect status
- prior experience with technology
- profession/education
- income
- access/ownership/configuration
- time availability
- receptivity to the medium, and to new experience

Early Adopters

Late Adopters

Along these same lines, it is also possible to utilize economic probit models, such as those of David (1969), Davies (1979) and Ireland and Stoneman (1968) to theorize a diffusion path based on cumulative benefit distribution, which would typify groups with the greatest vested interest, existing capabilities, and/or affinity linkage as adopting earlier, and showing the most positive response, while the groups with less direct benefit linkage and/or affinity adopted late or not at all.

The relationship between diffusion and technology adoption and audience interest and response variables can obviously be used to help predict likelihood of success of a given project aimed at prospecting the virtual marketplace. This is important, in that the wide differentials that currently exist in software and hardware configurations, memory capability, access and proficiency of use, will tend to skew diffusion rates and audience response patterns beyond mere demo and psychographic groupings and necessitate a new form of audience measurement.

Even in an environment where audiences control message selection and exposure, virtual marketers will need to know where their likeliest prospects might be found. Previously, in traditional media environments, demographically and psychographically targeted audiences could be measured in terms of use or non-use of a particular medium, based on a total universe expressed in terms of penetration or circulation. In a virtual marketplace, wherein potential audiences move from the relative passivity and inactive reception of traditional media to varying degrees of active participation, additional variables come into play, in terms of rank effects and cumulative benefit distribution, and even in terms of access keyed to reception capability.

To understand how significant this is, it may be useful to use the analogy of the TV set. Although many degrees of technological capability exist, from wide screen TVs to stereophonic, to miniaturized, all sets are capable of receiving and displaying the same basic signal. Differences in reception capability exist, however, in black and white vs. color reception, and the ability to receive add-on "premium" services, such as cable, pay-per-view, closed captioning, etc. Nevertheless, the vast majority of TV sets sold and in use today are color reception, "cable ready" --even if the owner does not choose to buy cable, his or her set probably has this capability.

In the virtual marketplace, however, reception capability fluctuates widely, and is further complicated by access issues related to the fact that, even though upwards of 30% of homes now have personal computers, most access is still predicated on job or school connections. The installed base of PCs, as noted previously, includes everything from the latest 486 and Pentium chip machines, often multimedia capable, and with at least 8-16 megabytes of RAM, to 286, DOS-only models with 1-4 megabytes of RAM, essentially incapable of running Windows-based applications and/or offering a user much beyond the most basic dial-up, text-based access to on-line services and the Internet.

Operating system issues extend beyond just dealing with competitive system standards to include factoring in the various levels of system upgrades currently utilized by the installed base of users. Many of whom have not upgraded their system software, especially in home machines for home use.

PDF software, which represents at least a partial solution to the operating system problem, cannot yet address the issue of older machines with low memory and non-graphical interfaces. Communication and media convergence via on-line services and the Internet faces similar issues--older machines with low memory and dial-up connections have difficulty accessing Mosaic and the other graphical-interface browsers essential to full reception capability.

In the rush to jump on the interactive bandwagon, it's easy to overlook the fledging nature of these new mediums; despite the hype about the coming NII and the "infobahn," most audiences, even highly specialized ones, may not reach measurable levels of reception conformity for some time to come. Penetration statistics, therefore, to be meaningful, must eventually be accompanied by measurement of diffusion incidence and adoption curves within sub-groupings.

Since certain industries will tend to vary as to market share of the various operating systems, age of installed machine base, etc.; and education and government facilities will tend to have more on-line accessibility, especially with full reception capabilities through the Internet, Mosaic, and the World Wide Web, any viable independent audience measurement that is undertaken must begin to take these factors into consideration in order to analyze and typify characteristics of potential audiences. In the virtual marketplace, now and for a long time to come, it will be much more important to know the age of a prospect's machine, whether he or she has access to it at home or at work, and how it is utilized than how many times Prodigy was logged onto in the past month.

This uneven process of diffusion has many antecedents in U.S. economic development, which, according to the research of Lippman and McCardle, has often depended on weighing the relative risk factors of degree of economic viability and potential competition from other emerging technologies. "Ex post, it often appears that successful innovations diffuse slowly; witness the 100 or so year time span it took for steam power to overcome sail power in the proportion of goods shipped. This perception of a lethargic pace stems in no small part from a confusion of technological feasibility with economic profitability. That technological innovations do not appear full blown on the economic scene, immediately and clearly superior to all competing technologies, seems obvious. Frequently, innovative technologies are adopted, only later to be found economically wanting."[9]

Certainly, these risk factors are being applied with varying outcomes across the spectrum of the communication industry, and even within specific organizations. For example, while more then two hundred newspapers and magazines have gone on-line with electronic editions, and most modem newsroom operations are highly computerized, often maintain an on-line link, and in some cases, are put together totally on system, a recent survey in Public Relations Tactics, a newsletter for members of the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA), reports that 74% of newspaper editors surveyed still prefer to receive information via hard copy, vs. only 26% who would like to receive it on disk.[10]

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[9] Lippman, S., and McCardle, K., (1991). Uncertain Search: A Model of Search Among Technologies of Uncertain Values, Management Science, (37)11, November, p. 1474-75.

[10] Galifianakis, N. (1994). Hard Copy, PR Tactics, (1)5, November, p.1.

Experiential Learning Analysis: Case Studies of Content Providers

Similar to the development of other applied mediated media, the most advanced purveyors of new media applications suitable for persuasive communication are, in general, the content providers. These specialists, with backgrounds rooted, more often than not, in computer science rather than marketing or communication, are critical to the development of new media form and structure, in that there are currently few in the industry who have the technical expertise necessary to design and program interactive disks and CD-ROMs, build multimedia presentations and put up sophisticated on-line promotional systems.

Further, at this point in time, the experiential base of most prospective audience members who have been exposed to persuasive forms of communication utilizing new media is not yet broad enough to move beyond like or don't like comparisons within a circumscribed set of exposures and in relation to traditional media experiences.

Analyzing the collected narratives of early new media pioneers--the content and network providers, system designers and first-stage electronic marketers who have a wide variety of situational experience and who have often intellectualized the important issues of design, search/exposure metaphor, content adaptability, and medium comparison, may therefore be of great value to the researcher seeking to understand the shape of communication in these new media.

Methodology

Theorizing that a review of the experiential narratives of a selected group of new media content providers/suppliers representing various aspects of the field would yield several common threads of experience and insight which could be analyzed in relation to audience survey data, an attempt was made to contact CEO/Presidents and senior officers of companies active in the field as new media content and service providers. Appropriately enough for a study attempting to analyze communication structures in cyberspace, e-mail and on-line posting proved to be the most efficient and valid population base sampling method.

The specific technique used to contact and select potential interviewees was, in all but two cases, to utilize introductory postings to a set of content-relevant newsgroups and on-line newsletters, such as PR Forum, On-line L, HTMNEWS and EPUB.

This was followed up with private e-mail to some of those who responded to the initial posting, asking for consent to a phone and/or on-line interview. Interviewees were asked to provide case-study material covering their experience in the business, as well answer specific questions regarding concept and theory of on-screen vs. traditional media design, advantages and disadvantages of new media in terms of communication messaging potential, and assessment as to the short and long term impact of diffusion rate differentials.

In an attempt to present the data collected from the interviews in the most effective possible way, interview material was transcribed from notes and e-mail into a "mini case study" format, then organized into two groups--media specific developers and on-line marketing and information services. Analysis of interview responses was included within each interview-case, in order to provide comparison/commentary on the experiential views of the respondents, and orient the findings within the larger universe of scholarly interpretation.

Through a process of elimination of similar experience and response, the following set of interview-cases was arrived at, which serve to illustrate the most relevant findings and common points of view within the sample base.

Media Specific Developers -
Interactive Disks and CD-ROM

Robert Stoeber is President/CEO of Creative Media Group. Stoeber's company develops interactive disks, primarily demo disks, sales presentations and catalogs, for a variety of industrial, media, and consumer product and service accounts. Like most of the content providers interviewed or quoted as part of the data collection process, Stoeber was reluctant to go into much detail about specific clients' projects and their estimations of the relative success of their ventures into persuasive new media formats.

From his perspective, most companies who end up using media-specific formats like disks and CD-ROM are jumping on the bandwagon right now because they "are looking for something new," and marketing via computer disk is currently a popular and trendy way to go. This experience, verified by other content providers, seems to support diffusion theory probit models and the influence potential of the info-entrepeuner in communication organizations--the well-positioned technological early adopters whose sense of affinity linkage and cumulative organizational benefit move the organization further along the diffusion path by "trying out" a new media marketing effort.

As a content provider who has followed the evolution of interactive, media-specific disks for marketing purposes, Stoeber clearly identified technological imperatives and design differentials as key issues in terms of shaping effective communications. "The biggest advantage of disk-based mediums is the interactive element, the ability to customize a presentation to a viewer." Unlike the print medium, for example, "you can distribute 100 pages of material, in bulk, on a disk." But, through the ability to access menus, information screens, hypertext links and other interface features, "no one has to look at 100% of the material, or anything that they're not interested in."

The difference between an on-screen environment, and the printed page, however, presents some serious design issues which have a significant effect on form and structure of information. As he was quick to point out, the computer can access a lot of text, especially if it is in small chunks. And one can communicate with a viewer in not only words and pictures, but also graphics, video and sound. On the other hand, the ability to present a convergence of information from a variety of other mediated sources may also be one of the key design problems, both in terms of technological adaptation limitations and metaphorical modelling of the design structure.

"You only have a certain amount of space to play in, no matter what medium you deal with," Stoeber noted. "And fitting text on a screen is lot like trying to squeeze words on small piece of paper."

The page-presentation metaphor, still the most common way to approach screen design environments once one gets past the system interface, seems deficient, both technically and conceptually, in view of Stoeber's experience designing and producing interactive disks. From his perspective, "It's more like designing for a TV commercial than a printed page or a newspaper or magazine ad." He carried the metaphor further, saying, "it's a different medium. It's just like you wouldn't produce something for broadcast television that was heavily copy-based."

Although not all presentations on disk need to be oriented as strongly to the visualization and "look" of the screen, clients usually require that most projects, especially demo disks, emphasize animated graphics, screen motion and impactfull product presentation--what Stoeber called "lots of product flying around the screen." This is a problem, since, for projects distributed on computer disk, disk file space is an issue, even with data compression technology. Creative Media Group and other companies get around this by using their own proprietary data compressions algorithms, rather than those available commercially. Few seem to make much use, as yet, of PDF format and multimedia viewers, (mostly as a function of the amount of disk space these viewers take up), opting instead for lowest common denominator DOS based presentations using VGA, and occasionally, superVGA graphics.

Bill Rosenthal, President/CEO of the Warbler Group, Inc., concentrates on business-to-business interactive disk and CD-ROM packages for direct mail marketing, demonstration and training purposes. Most of his clients offer some form of information service product which is well suited to demonstration or tutorial style disk presentations. The disk environment allows potential prospects to "get the feel" of the new product or service before making a purchase and without having to travel to a beta site or be visited by an expensive team of consultants/sales reps.

Since his client base is primarily business-to-business, hardware and software compatibility is less of an issue, although even as recently as five years ago, "it was pretty much a needle and haystack kind of thing" to find a big enough base of compatible users. For this reason, he believes pre-qualifying a prospect base may be important, particularly if going after a more generalized market, "although sometimes, it's not worth the extra time or effort." From his perspective, targetability and definition of audience are key to success.

Increasingly, computer diskettes for marketing purposes are becoming more of a mass phenomenon. Rosenthal, however, made an allusion to the influence of rank effect in terms of demographics. "It's still a generational problem. You can send something out to a pre-qualified list of companies, and you still don't know if the chief financial officer on your list has a PC on his or her desk or even knows how to use it."

By emphasizing the technological capabilities of interactive disks--what other mediums can't do--he has found it possible to gain tremendous advantage over both print and video executions. These include non-linearity and the ability to reinforce experience interactively.

In this view, print, film and video are all linear--they run from A to Z, in terms of tuming a page or viewing a program. Interactive disk-based communication is non-linear, it allows a viewer to jump immediately to those aspects of interest, to customize the experience as he/she moves from place to place in the program, and then to rerun the experience again, instantaneously.

To sell his company's services, Rosenthal makes use of direct comparison, for sales and training aid purposes, between disk based and more traditional mediums. In Rosenthal's comparison model, production of disk based communication is generally no more costly than print or video, and holds several inherent advantages for business communicators, including superior updating capability and degree of self direction/interactivity as follows:

FACTORS AFFECTING USE OF PRINT, VIDEO AND DISKETTE-BASED SALES(S) AND TRAINING (T) AIDS[11]

Factors	Print	Video	Disk
USE	S / T	T	S / T
MAJOR BENEFIT	Accessible	Retains audience attention	Interactive, self-directed
MAJOR DISADVANTAGE	Least impact	Cost; training needs instructor and hands-on practice	Use limited by PC literacy and equipment
UPDATING	Difficult	Cannot keep current	Easy to update master disk
CREATIVE COSTS	$12K-18K (incl. type)	$18K - 30K	$12K - 14K
POSTAGE (before postal increase)	5 oz. - $1.21	6 oz. - $1.44	2 oz. - $0.52

Commercial On-Line/Internet-based Marketing/Information Services

Henry Lenard, a former print news editor (for the Pittsburgh Business Times), and now Editor of Industry/Net (formerly Automation News Network), manages a business-to-business on-line service targeted to industrial manufacturers. Although his company also produces an interactive disk product, a database locator service broken down regionally for buyers of electronic and manufacturing components, the main focus is on the service, which he describes as a cross between a "bulletin board service for industrial manufacturers" and an electronic newsletter/PR wire service.

With limited competition, so far, in his particular niche, and the technological advantage of electronic immediacy and updatability, Lenard's company has been able to attract "100 of the largest industrial manufacturers" as subscribers to the service. On-line services have the technological advantage of being able to offer users a veritable smorgasbord of services--IndustryNet, for example, provides, in addition to industry updates and regular coverage of the major trade shows, free downloadable shareware, a career opportunities section, and the complete, unedited text of press releases targeted at the industrial and manufacturing marketplace.

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[11] Excerpted, with permission, from a news release of the Warbler Group, 1994.

From a design standpoint, the on-line and bulletin board services share similar issues with interactive disk-based media, in that the computer screen environment, coupled with the computer's unique interface features, present opportunities to enhance information content, but sometimes through the guise of less than familiar form and structure.

Right now, for example, Lenard's company, which has an Internet gateway and a World Wide Web server, is working on improving its "home page" (the first screen that welcomes and introduces you to a Web site) and subsequent pages. The issue is one of metaphor--establishing a form and structure that will be meaningful and familiar to the audience, while at the same being easy to use. Although Lenard, with his newspaper background, is thinking it must be "a true news page" design, they've already incorporated a number of interface design elements, such as icons for headline news, that emphasize the technological imperative and the on-line environment's superior indexing capabilities vs. traditional media.

Screen design for on-line services, and especially, Internet Web sites, is dependent, to a great extent, on features available in the user interface. Usually, the interface designer develops these features in relation to a defining metaphor, such as the Apple desktop or Window's nested files.

A great deal of theoretical work has been done on developing function metaphors for the next generation of interface design. Mountford, for example, has proposed the "plain-paper metaphor", which likens the on-screen environment to a blank sheet of paper. (Mountford, 1990) According to Mountford, typical software applications break work up into separate tasks, which must be performed in a separate environment. The plain paper metaphor envisions an on-screen environment that allows a user to bring "virtual" tools, perhaps designed to correspond to real world uses, to the task (such as the highlighter marking pen or sticky notes feature in Envoy, or most of the tool bar icons in Mosaic/Netscape, the most popular and successful graphical interface/browser for navigating the Internet and its Web sites).

From Mountford's perspective, metaphors are critically important to the task of screen design--the physical creation of form and structure--in that they serve as cognitive aids for users and stimulate creativity for designers. "Metaphors can help designers to use their own, often unconscious expectations to create new information links and mental structures."[12]

Bill Densmore started Newshare Corporation, available via World Wide Web server, to "establish a nationwide electronic brokerage for the multi-media collection, editing, moderation and marketing of time sensitive, general interest news and advertising."

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[12] Mountford, J., (1990). Tools and Techniques for Creative Design, in B.Laurel, (Ed) The Art of Human-Computer Interface Design, (pg. 17-30), Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company., sixth edition, p. 26.

Basically an Internet-based Web server company offering both a service product and technical and design support to companies considering putting up their own Web site, Newshare, much like Automation News Network, seeks to function as a customizable wire service-cum-electronic information mall.

Densmore's position, however, is to emphasize Web site electronic presence over other forms of new media, due to its "better access with hypertext links" and relative security with respect to "outsiders" accessing your system."

From Densmore's perspective, the most relevant defining metaphor for the Web site, as opposed to e-mail and other on-line services, is that of the electronic brochure, used as a supplement to traditional marketing communications techniques, not as just "another form of intrusive advertising." His view of the potential of the on-line, Internet-based communications environment seems to be that of the information-primary database, combined with the broadcast business model of network channels and affiliate stations.

In this view, a "network" like Newshare, centered around the collection and organization of information within a given set of parameters and thematic ideas, may become a known, and brandable, content provider, attractive to users because of its ability to provide access and editorialization of large amounts of news-based information from a variety of "affiliates--bulletin-board services, weekly and college newspapers, small-market radio and television stations and individual reporters or editors," not to mention "larger, traditional media organizations with a demonstrated commitment to open-standard, Internet-centered electronic publishing."

This emulative modelling of the structure of cyberspace on the earlier broadcast mediums is further extended by Kathryn McCabe, editor-in-chief for On-line Access, a magazine devoted to the computer bulletin board services industry, who wrote in a recent editorial, "When I envision the future of the on-line world, I see a structure that is similar to today's television system. Just as television has the big, national networked (CBS, NBC and ABC), cyberspace's equivalents are the big, national, commercial vendors (CompuServe, America Online, Prodigy, etc.)"

"Then there are the cable channels like CNN, ESPN and MTV, which carry specialized programming. Their counterparts in cyberspace are the various nodes of the Internet, such as Dartmouth University--home of the electronic Dante Project--and the University of Michigan, which carries an on-line collection of drawings by Kandinsky."

"Finally, you have your local channels and affiliates. These are the stations that offer news and programming that is mostly local in nature. This is the role I believe the general interest BBS will play in cyberspace--local affiliate of the Information Superhighway."[13]

While the conflict here--the distinction between content and carrier of information, is outweighed by the similarity of perspective, another commentator intriguingly extends the analogy in a way that challenges the notion of "information" in the context of persuasive communication. In a discussion about the future of on-line advertising, PR practitioner Chris Clark writes, ". . . no one has a clue as to how to do it right. . .Mass marketers actually think they're going to stuff the Internet full of all this wonderful content, which is supposed to represent the future of advertising, media, communications, and human interaction all rolled into one cute little branded icon we can access from our home PCs with the click of a mouse. But they're all missing the point. Online services aren't about information, they're about entertainment."[14]

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[13] McCabe, Kathryn, (1994). A Place in Cyberspace, Online Access, (9)6, October, p. 4.

According to another commentator, Philip Elmer-DeWitte, "Most publishers contemplating a move into the world of on-line services just don't get it. They tend to think of the content as "shovelware," something they only have to pour into a computer to open up a new revenue stream."[15]

Searching for a New Metaphor for Form and for Structure - Conclusions

If we read a printed page differently than we view a computer screen, but our most relevant model for information processing has been, up to now, print, how do we bridge the gap to a new metaphor that makes better use of the technological imperatives? One intriguing approach is that of Richard Lanham (Lanham, 1994). Commenting on the world of scholarly academic publishing, Lanham draws the distinction between the traditional linear information processing model of the book and the printed page, what he calls "the operating system of the humanities", which has been extant for the past 400 years, and a new information processing model based on convergence technologies.

"Texts are not fixed in print but projected on a phosphor screen in volatile form. They can be amended, emended, rewritten, reformatted, set in another typeface, all with a few keystrokes. The whole system of cultural authority we inherited from Renaissance Humanism thus evaporates, literally, at a stroke. The "Great Book," the authoritative text, was built on the fixity of print technology. That fixity no longer operates. The reader defined by print, the engrossed admiration of the humanist scholar reading Cicero, now becomes quite another person. He can quarrel with the text, and not marginally, or next year in another book, but right now, integrally. The reader thus becomes an author. Author and authority are both transformed."[16]

Exploiting the element of interactivity, then, not just from the standpoint of allowing the viewer to click a few buttons on screen, but through enabling the user to customize, amend, essentially author his/her own experience of the information, may be one key to designing form and structure for persuasive communication that result in attracting desired response.

This is a step beyond both the simple text editing and hypertext tools of PDF software, and the multi-media extravaganzas of presentation applications software. It is design based on the utility of the result, on how effectively it can be used by the receiver. This is also, not coincidentally, different than mass marketing's approach to persuasive communication, which is based on stimulating call to action through a one-way appeal to perceived needs and wants, and/or motivating some form of development, maintenance, or change in point of view. In an interactive, on-screen environment, stimulation of call to action is dyadic, since it includes stimulation of both a viewer's desire to be exposed to a communication message, and the motivation to take some form of action.

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[14] Clark, Chris (1994). And Now, a Word for Our Sponsors, Wired Magazine, (2)12, December, p. 144.

[15] Elmer-DeWitte, Philip, (1994). Beyond Shovelware, Folio:, October, p. 54.

[16] Lanham, Richard (1994). Communication, Persuasion and Influence in Scholarly Communities, distributed by hott-list-relay-@ucsd.edu, December 22.

To get a better handle on the meaning of interactive design in this context, it may be useful to borrow from the grammar of user interface designers.

In a very real sense, the development of conventions of forms, content and structure in the new media are closely linked to the development of interface. User interface, the enabling metaphor for the accomplishment of tasks within an operating system or application, can be seen as the equivalent of formats for persuasive communication in traditional media--the physically distinctive, media specific structures which a persuasive writer learns, then uses to write audio or video scripts, advertisements, press releases, news clips, feature stories, etc.

Although the copywriter probably does not end up producing the physical piece itself (just as an interface would be designed, not by a communicator, but by a programmer), the writer must be conversant with the conventions of format for each medium. It is the writer's vision of how visual and information processing characteristics are to be integrated into the system that informs the final product.

Truly interactive design, therefore, requires the creator or communicator to integrate the elements of interface and information processing tools into the the form and structure of the communication message, much as a copywriter might incorporate scripting symbols and terminology into a TV commercial storyboard. This viewpoint centralizes the issue of technology diffusion, since its argues for a move away from the separate roles of technology specialist and communication/creator. In this view, persuasive communicators in the new media need to have a sense of both conventional and technological literacy.

They must also have an understanding of the relationship, in on-screen design, between symbol and syntax, and of how metaphor and simulation may be used to move beyond linearity (the most tedious of ways to process information in a screen-based environment). Finally, they must emphasize the importance of providing contextual cues and formative structure that make information search and retrieval easier and less intimidating to the novice user.

In addition to this more integral approach to truly interactive design, there is a need to consider the outline of a new paradigm, modeled on interface deign theory, which may ultimately come to inform the development of form and structure for persuasive communication in the new media. A set of structural markers which could be used to help guide creators of such communication in both disk-based and on-line mediums might therefore include the following:

1. ***Creators must do a better job of embedding user training in the communication message/medium.*** Current solutions that deal with rejection/reluctance to try via packaging

instructions (disks), tutorial options and help screens still attempt to predict user behavior, and are based on a predefined set of skills, with which the user may not be totally comfortable, and which may have no intuitive correlation to the communication being attempted.

A better option may be to adapt from the "social interface" approach, as developed by Stanford's Clifford Nass and Byron Reeves. This approach moves beyond the interface conventions of pull-down menus, tool bars and windows, uses the metaphor of common objects and physical environments, plus animated character guides, to acculturate users to the screen environment, actively assist their actions, and even provide custom tips for dealing with problems. (Clark, 1994)

One such social interface, Microsoft's new Bob, (sic) which runs on top of DOS/Windows, and is capable of launching applications and performing common interface tasks, has already been developed, and is scheduled for Spring 1995 shipment. (Apple's new user interface, code named Copland, is also said to be based on social interface principles.)

2. ***Packaging and visual design counts, in fact, its impact can be considered as analogous to breaking through the clutter in traditional media.*** Since interactive media require an exposure decision on the part of the recipient, all communication contact points must be oriented towards establishing a connection and inviting response. For disk based mediums, this means that packaging elements--disk mailer and cover, label, and even the physical disk itself, must be designed from the standpoint of audience attraction capability.

Color coded disks, and disk with designs embedded in their surface, or on their labels, are much more compelling, and must be considered an integral and essential part of the design package. Mailers, akin to audio CDs and VCR cassette sleeves, are also important, in that they can be utilized to provide motivational "hooks" that encourage potential viewers to open up the disks.

On-line, development of screens, document viewers and home pages (for Internet World Wide Web sites) must take into consideration both the physical screen dimension and visual orientation of the demograhic audience base. Consider, for example, two different home pages--that of Digital Equipment and SGI's "Silicon Surf." These companies are both in the same high tech field, they directly compete against each other for market share and consumer attention, and they are both making use of their Web sites to disseminate persuasive communication, including electronic newsletters, product demos, contact and ordering information, etc. (Dataquest Incorporated, 1994)

Yet the screen presentation, the electronic presence or telepresence, if you will, or the two companies differs significantly in terms of the utilization of graphic elements, the horizontal vs. vertical screen dimension, and the use of contextual metaphor. The SGI screen "looks" and "feels" different to the user, and, unlike the Digital screen, presents an environment that is intuitive, based on user utility, and decidedly non-linear in comparison.

3. ***Consideration must be given to the user's relationship to the screen, and to how it is integrated into daily life and routine.*** Books, which have been with us for so long, are highly integrated into our normal routines and working patterns, because their design has evolved from unwieldy, elaborately decorated scrolls on fragile parchment paper to portable, well-protected packages that we can take with us wherever we go.

Even sub notebook computers have yet to approach this level of utility. Further, the act of engaging a computer screen seems to differ from that of opening a book; the user must prepare differently, which usually necessitates thinking and acting more deliberately, even for those who spend large amounts of time in front of their computer.

How long can a viewer sit, scrolling through screens lit by the phosphorescent glow of the monitor, versus flipping through the pages of a book? The broadcast metaphor has similar limitations in this context, since the computer user sits much closer to the screen, and must maintain high levels of eye-hand coordination and reading or visual comprehension throughout the experience, versus the relatively unengaged, even passive, viewing pattern of the television watcher.

What are some of the design changes to form and structure which could be contemplated to integrate the user's experience of the screen into the equation of the persuasive communication message? A prohibition on large amounts of text on-screen is an obvious conclusion. But, it may be possible to develop a more intuitive relationship between the user and the screen, one that precludes having to include a print function in every application.

One category of application that has already developed such a relationship is the computer game. Computer gamers spend large amounts of time in front of the computer screen before experiencing fatigue, and are able to navigate, read and assimilate text on screen (in the case of MUDDS and character-driven games, copy blocks can even be relatively large), without ever feeling the urge to hit the "print screen" button.

Some of the design elements that fuel gaming behavior, such as powerful simulative interactions (which have been the basis for the thriving demo disk market, particularly for automobile new product rollouts and test drive simulations); ascending hierarchies, or "levels" of organization of information and experience; and subjective user personification schemes may be applicable to the development of form and structure in new media environments.

Other choices that may act to assist user comprehension and recall, and motivate call to action in a paperless environment include, on a more basic level: iconization of elements as a form of categorization; a stronger use of color as an organizing motif, to link progression through a document, for example; and the development of navigational paths for both closed and open-ended scenarios. It my be time to begin serious consideration and analysis of which aspects of gaming design may be successfully borrowed by persuasive communicators.

4. ***Attention must be paid to integrating the user expectation set into conventions of form and structure.*** Even in a non-linear environment, the power and importance of narrative structures as sense-making devices will still be operative. Comprehension, even in cyberspace, will still ultimately be based on the ability to tell a compelling story that helps a user progress in a logical way through the message/information structure.

Much as traditional oral storytelling was often based on telling the tale from an actor or character's perspective, so that listeners could identify with a proponent and use that identification to assist in comprehension and recall, the use of "intelligent agents" and/or interface "characterizations", basic to the idea of social interface, could also be used to assist persuasive message processing and develop identification/affinity linkages to an audience.

Alan Kay, in his seminal work on the subject, oriented the intelligent agent at the center of the "computer's world" performing essential tasks, soliciting advice, and orchestrating the experience on behalf of the user. (Kay, 1984) Oren, Salomon, Kreitman and Don, (1989), in their work on the Guides metaphor, which was initially developed as a navigational tool to prevent user disorientation in hypertext systems, added the element of personification-characterization to the idea of the intelligent agent, going so far as to utilize actors as video icons. They also introduced the idea of framing, or moving the actor in and out of character to denote changes in the relationship of user and environment.

Don later took this one step further, from a narrative standpoint, by developing the "context gears model" for representing multiple viewpoints in a database. (Don, 1990). In simple terms, the model includes character gears and subject gears, the intersection of which represents subtopics.

This structure served to personify the interface, while at the same time providing interlocking narrative threads which could be connected by the user in a variety of ways to navigate content from the perspective of multiple points of view.

It's not too far a leap from here to potential utilization of a celebrity character, a "host/hostess" or "commentator," more robust than the "talking heads" of multi-media tutorials, who brings a specific point of view, "narrates" the program, and guides the user through it from a (selective) predetermined perspective.

5. ***Brand/corporate image are not dead, but, in an interactive environment, they may become functional "signatures" which identify one form of interaction/experience from another in terms of messaging and information processing.*** As always, potential audiences in cyberspace will be more disposed to respond to brands or images they know and trust, but they may also be expected to make a linkage between brand image and experience of relationship and interaction.

At its basic level, therefore, interactive communications messages may need to have a consistent, "brandable" look and feel that allows users to get the information they want, the first time, and on repeated exposures.

Even more importantly, however, they may also need to present a consistent style of interaction, which becomes familiar to the user, and which is then actively sought out. Using the gaming metaphor again, there may be a hierarchy, or levels of interactivity preference that develops within a given audience, going beyond mere demographic and psychographic expectations. Such preference becomes one more way in which prospects may be segmented and which must be taken into consideration when making strategic decisions as to medium and message structure.

For all those who contemplate a "paperless environment" and the end of print, it's important to remember the cultural hold that textual literacy has on society. Print, after all, is the oldest applied medium of communication, one which has defined communicative form and structure for nearly six hundred years. All modem intellectual and scientific thought, literature and commentary, have their antecedents in print. As such, it's probably a safe bet to assume that the venerable old medium will be with us for a little while longer.

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Trends in the Use and Abuse of Advertorial Advertising in Magazines

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Trends in the Use and Abuse of Advertorials in Magazines

Abstract

A total of 484 advertorials were identified in a content analysis of 333 magazine issues for the years 1990, 1991, and 1992. The present study found consistent and growing use of advertorials over that time span, with the extent of advertorial use varying by magazine type and by magazine title. The current practices as they relate to the ASME guideline suggest that advertorials are abused in a major and significant way. Given the rise of advertorials and the predicted use of information-heavy advertising in new media/integrated marketing efforts, the advertising academy and industry should make an honest effort to create copy-heavy messages such as advertorials **without** adopting the trappings of editorial content. The effectiveness of such high-information ads merits further research.

Introduction

Editorial-like advertising in magazines, frequently referred to as "advertorials," represents one of the fastest growing media trends in the advertising industry over the past decade. Total expenditures on advertorials has more than doubled from the 1986 figure of $112 million to the 1991 figure of $229 million (Donaton, 1992). As Donaton (1992, p. S16) mentioned, "it is nearly impossible to open any magazine without confronting a special ad section or two or even, occasionally, three..." Advertorials have been widely adopted in recent years as a new way to promote products or services. Recent research also indicates that use of advertorials has steadily increased since 1980 (Stout, Wilcox, & Greer, 1989; Burner & Nowak, 1993).

As this new advertising form has gained increasing popularity, many advertising and media industry experts have written in the trade press about the overdependence of magazines on advertorials as well as the deceptive use of advertorials (Alter, 1989; Howland, 1989; Kirchner, 1991; Rothenberg, 1988). Particularly, the extremely blurred line between editorial and advertising in some of the recent advertorials (see Exhibits I & II, for example) has stirred frequent debate among the practitioners in both media and advertising industries (Donaton, 1992; Hausknecht, Wilkinson, & Prough, 1991; Kaufman, 1984; Kirchner, 1991). Such claims and concerns merit empirical evidence as a basis for discussion of the direction the advertising community should take regarding extent of advertorial use and self-regulatory efforts to balance the effectiveness of advertorials with the need to maintain a distinction between commercial messages and editorial.

Advertorial Research and Issues

To date, only a few research studies have been reported in the literature, primarily concerning the usage of advertorials in magazines. Stout, Wilcox, and Greer (1989) examined overall usage of advertorials and documented a rapid growth in usage among eight consumer magazines during the 1980-86 period. This first empirical study of advertorials analyzed a total of 672 magazines which represented four categories of consumer magazines: general interest (Time, Reader's Digest), women's (Redbook, Cosmopolitan), men's (Esquire, Sports Illustrated), and regional magazines (Texas Monthly, Southern Living). The same authors (Greer, Stout, & Wilcox, 1989) studied advertorial practices in a survey of 318 media practitioners. The main focus of their study, however, was on the opinion of media personnel toward use of advertorials, rather than on the advertorial content.

More recently, Burner and Nowak (1993) examined the usage of advertorials, updating Stout et al.'s content analysis. Their study covered eight publications representing four magazine editorial categories: news, business, men's and women's. Particularly, these authors expanded on previous analysis by Stout and others (1989) by looking at the executional characteristics of advertorial advertisements. However, their content analysis was limited to only a few structural characteristics such as number of pages, use of color, and author bylines.

Meanwhile, a few additional research studies have focused on the potential impact of advertorial use on editorial credibility, including the believability and memorability of advertorial and editorial content. Hausknecht, Wilkinson and Prough (1991) assessed advertorials as a potential source for advertising deception, finding "that the underlying notion behind advertorials--that readers will perceive them as more credible--may hold true for those with poor product knowledge." (Hausknecht et al., 1991, p. 50). The findings by Hausknecht et al. (1991) have been supported in other research. A considerable number of studies suggest that advertorials, blurring the distinction between a magazine's editorial and advertising, confuse readers into thinking that advertorial ads are a part of the publication's editorial content (Cameron & Curtin, in press; Cameron & Haley, 1992; Cameron, Ju-Pak, & Kim, in press; see also Balusabramanian, 1994 who inexplicably chooses to rename advertorials as masked-news, emergent hybrid messages). Others make the case that the advertorial thus benefits from its disguise by being more credible, better remembered or more persuasive (Cameron, 1994; Reid, Soley, & Vanden Bergh, 1981; Salmon, Reid, Pokrywczynski, & Willett, 1985; Schwarz, Kumpf, & Bussmann, 1986).

Concerned with the issue of possible confusion among readers, the American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME) developed a set of guidelines in 1986. However, the industry guidelines, which set out procedures regarding the labeling and overall layout of advertorials, have been reported to be violated by various publications. ASME requires that advertorials use the label as advertisement. According to the guidelines, each text page of a multipage advertorial should also be clearly and conspicuously identified as a message paid for by advertisers.

However, many media gatekeepers indicate that some advertorials are not labeled as a commercial message and that the labels, when used, are often placed inconspicuously (Hoyt, 1990; Kirchner, 1991; Stein, 1988; Singer, 1991).

Singer (1991), joined by many other critics, argued that the absence of the label or disclaimers in editorial-like advertising may induce readers into misinterpreting advertorials as the publication's editorial content (Alter, 1989; Cameron & Haley, 1992; Howland, 1989; Kirchner, 1991; Rothenberg, 1988).

Armstrong, Gurol, and Russ (1980) have suggested that such misinterpretation of an advertisement into an editorial may be due not only to the absence of the label but also to other executional components such as typesize and typeface employed in the headline, disclaimer, copy text and the sponsor's name or logo. The notion that various executional features in advertorials are the main sources for confusion among readers appears to have been well-taken by the American Society of Magazine Editors, as the ASME calls for specific guidelines regarding the use of several executional elements in an advertorial. In addition to the use of labels or disclaimers, ASME specifically requires that the type used in the label and in the advertorial copy text be at least equal in size and weight to the publication's normal editorial text type. Advertorial copy, as suggested by ASME, should look distinctively different from the publication's normal editorial text. ASME also demands that the sponsor be clearly identified in every advertorial (ASME, 1989).

As indicated, layout and design characteristics (such as use of label as advertisement, sponsorship, typesize and typeface of the label and the advertorial copy) are specified in the ASME guidelines as methods to distinguish advertorials from editorial content. Another executional characteristic that might contribute to the possible confusion among the readers is use of news/information headlines in advertorials. In magazine advertisements, headlines are frequently used in delivering messages of products or services

(Wesson, 1989). For example, Mobil ads frequently and consistently use the "how to," essay- or news-oriented headline, simulating the editorial format (Poe, 1980).

While it is not difficult to find evidence for the violation of the ASME guidelines in almost every executional aspect discussed above, little research exists addressing these critical issues (Cameron, Ju-Pak and Kim, in press). Considering the contentious atmosphere in trade publications regarding magazine use of advertorials, ongoing tracking of the extent of advertorial use and compliance with guidelines for various executional characteristics such as labeling, typesize of the label, its typeface, the context or content of headline, and sponsorship information would help to inform public debate.

Understanding of the current advertorial practices as they relate to the industry guidelines is critical from several perspectives. For one, quantifying the major executional characteristics of advertorials would enable us to directly address some of the critical issues raised by advertising and media experts. Secondly, the knowledge could also facilitate further research into the effects this form of advertising has on consumers. Thirdly, understanding of current advertorial use should also help copywriters in developing advertorial ads. In addition, only one previous study provided an in-depth look at the executional characteristics as they relate to the industry guidelines (Cameron, Ju-Pak, & Kim, in press). The current study replicates that work with extensions.

Research Questions

The present study addressed seven specific research questions in an effort to address some of the critical issues discussed above. The questions include:

RQ1: Have there been changes in advertorial use over the years?

RQ2: What types and sizes of magazines tend to carry advertorials?

RQ3: Do advertorial labeling practices tend to comply with ASME guidelines. Specifically, are labels used? Do labels appear on each page? Are labels for advertorials at least as large as other normal typesize in the magazine? Is the typeface of advertorial labels distinctly different from other typefaces?

RQ4: Does selection of typefaces for advertorial copy comply with ASME guidelines? Specifically, are typesizes for advertorial copy distinctly different from editorial copy? Are typefaces distinctly different?

RQ5: What types of headlines and/or sub-headlines are used in advertorials?

RQ6: Do advertorials provide the sponsor or logo for the sponsor of the advertorial? If so, where in the advertorial does the sponsor name/logo appear?

RQ7: What types of products/services or themes are common in advertorials?

Research Method

The operational definition of advertorials was based on a decision-tree developed by Ju-Pak and Kim (1993). The decision-tree included 10 separate factors arranged hierarchically to make identification of advertorials more systematic and comprehensive than in previous studies. At the top of the hierarchy is the most unequivocal factor, presence of an advertorial label. Examples of other factors are presence of byline, tone of copy and presence of sales pitch.

In an attempt to examine trends in advertorial practice, the content analytical methods used by Cameron, Ju-Pak and Kim (in press) were used. First, two independent coders employed the decision-tree to identify 484 advertorials in 333 issues of 9 magazines for the years 1990, 1991 and 1992. Ninety-three percent agreement between coders was achieved. Two other independent coders then coded each advertorial with regard to 34 characteristics, including presence, location, and wording of label, typeface and type size of label and of advertorial copy, type of headline used[1], sponsor information, extent of advertorial usage in the publication and many other characteristics of advertorials.

Ninety-three percent agreement between coders was achieved initially, with disagreements reconciled in meetings of the coders. Following Krippendorff (1980), simple percent agreement was computed given the categorical coding and very high agreement in the pretest stage. Nearly all disagreements resulted from clerical errors in counting total advertising pages and total pages in the issue of the magazine. Agreement was reached through recounts.

The population base for the sample of magazines was approximately 120 national consumer magazines listed in the 1991 Simmons Market Research Bureau (SMRB). Simmons classifies the consumer magazines in seventeen editorial categories excluding newspaper-distributed magazines. In the present study, the seventeen categories were further collapsed to a more manageable set of seven categories based on similarities in the overall editorial content. This collapsing of the SMRB categories has often been used in previous media research (Leckenby & Ju, 1990; Ju, Lee, & Leckenby, 1990; Ju, 1994).

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[1] Headline styles were coded into six categories defined by C. L. Bovee and Arens, Contemporary Advertising, 3rd (Homewood, IL,: Irwin, 1989):

A total of nine magazines were selected from the seven categories, with either one or two magazines chosen from each category approximately in proportion to the number of magazines available in that category. In selecting the specific magazines in each category, an effort was made to include an equal number of large (over 5% of adult population) and small (from 1% to 5% of adult population) publications.

The nine magazines selected were, by title and editorial category, Business Week (Business/Finance), Time (General Appeal/News), Sports Illustrated (Fishing/Hunting/Sports), Better Homes & Gardens and Gourmet (Home Services/Health/Epicurean), Gentlemen's Quarterly (Men's), Stereo Review (Special Appeal), Good Housekeeping and Glamour (Women's/Fashion/Parenting).

For the six monthly magazines, each issue was included in the sample, totaling 144 monthly issues. Also, a total of 78 weekly issues was included in the sample. In selecting the sample issues for the three weekly magazines, a stratified random sampling procedure was employed. To secure a representative sample, each year was divided into 13 four-week periods and one issue was selected at random from every four-week period. In summary, the random procedure was employed whenever warranted, while selection of magazines was purposive.

Results and Discussion

Advertorial Types and Usage

Findings indicate that advertorial use has increased over the past three years, with a particularly sharp rise in 1992. The number of advertorials in 1992 represented nearly a 50% of increase over 1991. By advertorial type, the majority of the advertorials (86.8%) were product/service advertorials with only 13.2 percent of the advertorials identified as advocacy/issue advertorials. While product/service advertorials continuously increased over the years, advocacy/issue advertorials decreased from 43.8% in 1991 to 29.7% in 1992. As indicated in Table 1, advertorial usage varies markedly by magazine category. Women's/Fashion/Parenting magazines (2.20) and General Appeal/News magazines (1.90) used the most advertorials, averaging two per issue. Special appeal and men's magazines used the fewest advertorials. Advertorial usage varied also by magazine title.

Insert Table 1 about here

Specifically, Glamour (18.8%) and Time (15.3%) were found to use advertorials most frequently during the 1990-1992 period. In contrast, Gourmet (3.1%) and Stereo Review (7%) were found to use advertorials least frequently in the same years. These findings are in line with Stout et al. (1989), who reported the highest advertorial usage in Women's magazines and the lowest in Men's. Burner and Nowak (1993) also showed that Men's magazines used the fewest advertorials. However, contrary to the current study and the benchmark work of Stout et al. (1989), Burner and Nowak found Business magazines to use the most advertorials.

In addition, the present study found that publications with larger readership used more advertorials (1.75 per issue) than did the publications with smaller readership (1.21 per issue). This may be partly a function of the number of pages in the respective publications in the two size categories.

Advertorial Label and Copy Factors

The current study of advertorials found frequent violations of the ASME guidelines for use of advertorials. More than one-third (34.7%) of the 484 advertorials identified from nine magazines were not labeled as advertisements. However, when labeled, most of the advertorials (85.1%) did include the label on each page as recommended by the guidelines.

Insert Table 2 about here

As Table 2 shows, violations of the ASME guidelines were notably greater in 1992 with the ad label missing in 40.8 percent of 211 advertorials (Chi-square = 9.11, df = 2, p<.05). There were also significant differences among the magazines in the use of advertorial labels (Chi-square = 103.57, df = 8, p<.00). Specifically, Stereo Review and Business Week were most likely to violate the ASME guidelines. Only 14.7% of the advertorials in Stereo Review and 42.9% in Business Week carried the label. In contrast, Glamour (91.2%), Sports Illustrated (87.1%), and Gentlemen's Quarterly (74.4%) were most likely to comply with the ASME guideline regarding the labeling of advertorials.

In looking at use of an advertising label as a function of advertorial type, advocacy/issue advertorials (29.7% with label) were less likely to be labeled than product/service advertorials (70.7%). The difference was significant at p<.05 (Chi-square = 41.25, df = 1).

Insert Table 3a and Table 3b about here

Table 3a shows that overall only 11.7 percent of the advertorial labels were conspicuously larger than the editorial typesize. About 88% of the labels were equal to or smaller than editorial copy typesize, an obvious violation of the ASME recommendation that label typesize be larger than editorial. As indicated in Table 3a, violations were greater in 1992 (74.4%) than in 1990 (52.2%) or 1991 (69.7%). Of the magazines studied, Stereo Review (100%), Good Housekeeping (81.6%), and Sports Illustrated (79.6%) were most likely to violate the ASME guidelines by using the smaller advertorial labels than in their editorial copy. Table 3a also demonstrates that more than three-quarters (76.3%) of the advertorial labels were actually smaller in typesize than the advertorial copy text. The advertorial labels in Stereo Review (100%), Good Housekeeping (87.8%), Business Week (87.5%) and Sports Illustrated (85.2%) were most likely to be smaller than the advertorial copy. Chi-square tests showed significant variations across the nine magazines in the label typesize as it compares to the publication's editorial text (Chi-square = 36.02, df = 16, p<.00) and to the advertorial copy typesize (Chi-square = 50.13, df = 16, p<.00).

On the other hand, in the typeface of labels (Table 3b), the overwhelming majority (89.2%) of the advertorial labels were distinctively different from editorial copy immediately preceding the advertorial. In this regard, most of the advertorial labels studied complied with ASME guidelines. However, the extent of compliance with the guidelines in the typeface of labels has slightly decreased over the three years. As noted by Cameron, Ju-Pak and Kim (in press), distinctive typeface for labels is probably not effective if typesize of the labels is not large enough to be easily recognized as an advertisement by magazine readers.

Insert Table 4 about here

The ASME guidelines also call for conspicuously different type for a advertorial copy than for the normal editorial copy. As indicated in Table 4, however, 62.6 percent of the advertorials in the present study were virtually equal to the normal editorial copy in typesize. In contrast, a majority (79.9%) of advertorial typefaces were different from the typeface of the publications' editorial appearing immediately before the advertorials.

Headline Style and Sponsorship Information

The ASME guidelines also call for the advertorial layout and design to be distinctly different from the editorial layout and design. One prominent layout feature is the use of headlines. Bovee and Arens (1989) identified 5 types of headlines: (1) benefit, (2) provocative, (3) news/information, (4) question, and (5) command. Among those headline types, two types of headlines, news/information and provocative, were most frequently used in magazine advertorials. About 60 percent of the advertorials used a news/information headline or sub-headline type, and about 40 percent used a provocative headline. Although advertorials with news/information headlines were more likely to comply with the ASME guideline by carrying an ad label (70.4%) than those with other types of headlines (57.9%), more than a quarter (29.6%) of the "newsy" advertorials were left with no label. Furthermore, such unlabeled "newsy" advertorials increased (to 35.7%) in 1992 (Table 5).

Insert Table 5 about here

Another prominent design characteristic, the positioning of the sponsor's name and/or logo in the advertorial, was also included in our analysis. Typically, the logo for a company will not appear in a news story, but will be present in a commercial message. This serves as a cue for readers that a piece may not be editorial copy. Likewise, sponsor name may appear in a headline or a story lead, but extensive use may also be a tipoff for readers that an item is not a news story. As indicated in Table 6, the present study found that about 60 percent of the 484 advertorials distinctively displayed the sponsor's name or logo either in a headline (22.7%) or sub-headline (9.3%) or in the opening of the advertorial copy (26.7%). The other 40 percent inconspicuously placed the sponsorship information either in the middle of the advertorial copy (17.1%), in the closing of the copy (10.5%), or near the bottom of the page separate from the advertorial main text (11.8%).

Insert Table 6 about here

Interestingly, such late mention or inconspicuous display of the sponsorship information was more characteristic of unlabeled advertorials than of labeled ones, compounding the problem of failure to notify the reader of commercial sponsorship. As Table 7 shows, less than half (41.1%) of all unlabeled advertorials (168) displayed the sponsor's name or logo distinctively, while most (68%) of all labeled advertorials (316) had an early mention or distinct display of the sponsor's name or logo. The difference between labeled and unlabeled advertorials in the placement of the sponsor's name or logo was significant (Chi-square = 33.98, df = 2, $p<.05$).

Insert Table 7 about here

In looking at advertorials with newsy headlines and no label, it is notable that half (49.4%) of the advertorials **failed** to place sponsorship information either in the headline or in the opening of the advertorial copy. This means that the advertorials most resembling editorial copy (unlabeled, newsy pieces), frequently lack a content cue that would help readers accurately account for the source of the news piece. On the other hand, most of the labeled advertorials (73.8%) with a newsy headline also included early mention of the sponsor. It may be that advertisers who choose to use a label do so in an attempt to self-regulate advertorial practice. Consistent with this spirit, other cues are provided to distinguish the advertorial from editorial copy (Cameron & Haley, 1992).

Advertorial Themes or Products/Services Featured

In the present study, the products/services or themes featured in each advertorial were based on 15 categories. The most frequent themes or products/services featured in this study included Fashion/Cosmetics (19.8%), Health/Fitness (15.3%), and Sports (11.8%), as indicated in Table 8. Of these, the Health/Fitness theme was also found to be one of the most popular themes in the earlier study by Stout, Wilcox, and Greer (1989).

Insert Table 8 about here

Table 8 further shows that Health/Fitness and Business themes gained popularity as advertorial topics over time. In contrast, Food/Cooking and Financial themes had a steady decrease in appearance over the three years from 1990 to 1992.

Conclusion

The present study reports consistent and growing use of advertorials in magazines. The extent of advertorial use, however, tends to vary by the editorial category of magazines and by magazine title. As previous research indicated, of the seven magazine categories, women's and general interest magazines seem to make the greatest use of this advertising format. Particularly, Glamour and Sports Illustrated magazines led the way in utilizing advertorials.

The overall results from the present study also show that the tendency to violate industry guidelines that was reported by Cameron, Ju-Pak and Kim (in press) has worsened significantly over time. The purported self-regulation of advertorial practice that respondents claimed in Cameron and Haley's survey of editors and ad managers (1992) may be ineffective or may occur with magazines other than the representative ones included in the current study. For whatever reason, industry guidelines are frequently violated on the following counts: (1) label missing altogether, (2) label not placed on each page of the insert, (3) typesize for label smaller than editorial copy, (4) typesize for label smaller than advertorial copy, and (5) advertorial copy typesize same as editorial copy. Three of the ASME guidelines appear to be followed quite well: (1) different typeface for label, (2) different typeface for advertorial copy, and (3) label at top of advertorial.

Compliance with one or two aspects of the guidelines may not prevent readers from confusing advertorials with editorials. This is particularly true for placement and typeface for a label that may be so small as to go unnoticed (Cameron, 1994). Furthermore, given the "highly formatted" nature of many publications today, i.e. a variety of typefaces and sizes appear on a page, the use of a different typeface for advertorial copy may not signal to the reader that a commercial message is being offered. All of this is further compounded when advertorials adopt a news headline and bury sponsorship information such as 800 numbers and ordering addresses late in the advertorial.

The professional community of advertisers, from educators to practitioners, must ask: "To what forthright and ethical end are editorial trappings such as headlines, by-lines and even datelines being applied?" On the face of it, one is hard pressed to image that these trappings serve any purpose but to confuse readers about the source of a message. Empirical studies reviewed above bear out this assumption. According to Balusabramanian (1994), hybrid messages such as advertorials accomplish a merging of the strengths of advertising and publicity (control of message and credibility, respectively). But this feat lacks honesty, confuses readers and pollutes the information stream we all must use in a modern society. The findings here suggest that the advertising community needs to make an earnest effort to address the problems inherent in borrowing from the credibility of editorial content that occurs when commercial messages masquerade as editorial ones. It is most appropriate for scholars to begin a genuine process of self-regulation by acknowledging current advertorial practices are at least questionable.

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EXHIBIT I

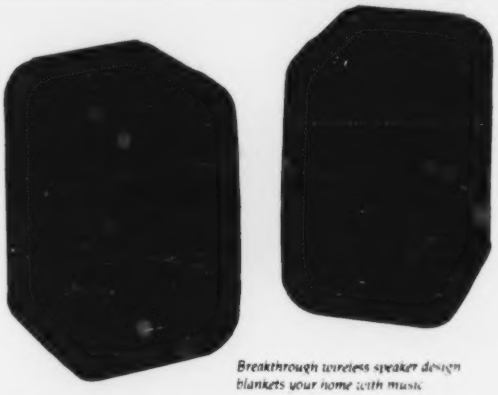
Advertisement

TECHNOLOGY UPDATE

900 MHz breakthrough!

New technology launches wireless speaker revolution...

Recoton develops breakthrough technology which transmits stereo sound through walls, ceilings and floors up to 150 feet.



Breakthrough wireless speaker design blankets your home with music

By Charles Anton

If you had to name just one new product "the most innovative of the year," what would you choose? Well, at the recent *International Consumer Electronics Show*, critics gave Recoton's new wireless stereo speaker system the *Design and Engineering Award* for being the "most innovative and outstanding new product."

Recoton was able to introduce this whole new generation of powerful wireless speakers due to the advent of 900 MHz technology. This newly approved breakthrough enables Recoton's wireless speakers to rival the sound of expensive wired speakers.

Recently approved technology. In June of 1989, the *Federal Communications Commission* allocated a band of radio frequencies stretching from 902 to 928 MHz for wireless, in-home product applications. Recoton, one of the world's leading wireless speaker manufacturers, took advantage of the FCC ruling by creating and introducing a new speaker system that utilizes the recently approved frequency band to transmit clearer, stronger stereo signals throughout your home.

Crisp sound throughout your home. Just imagine being able to listen to your stereo, TV, VCR or CD player in any room of your home without having to run miles of speaker wire. Plus, you'll never have to worry about range because the new 900 MHz technology allows stereo signals to travel over distances of 150 feet or more through walls, ceilings and floors without losing sound quality.

One transmitter, unlimited receivers. The powerful transmitter plugs into a headphone, audio-out or tape-out jack on your stereo or TV component, transmitting music wirelessly to your speakers or headphones. The speakers plug into an outlet. The one transmitter can broadcast to an unlimited number of stereo speakers and headphones. And since each speaker contains its own built in receiver/amplifier, there are no wires running from the stereo to the speakers.

Full dynamic range. The speaker, mounted in a bookshelf-sized acoustically constructed cabinet, provides a two-way bass reflex design for individual bass boost control. Full dynamic range is achieved by the use of a 2" tweeter and 4" woofer. Plus, automatic digital lock-in tuning guarantees optimum reception and eliminates drift. The new technology provides static-free, interference-free sound in virtually any environment. These speakers are also self-amplified; they can't be blown out no matter what your stereo's wattage.

150 foot range through walls!

Recoton gives you the freedom to listen to music wherever you want. Your music is no longer limited to the room your stereo is in. With the wireless headphones you can listen to your TV, stereo or CD player while you move freely between rooms, exercise or do other activities. And unlike infrared headphones, you don't have to be in a line-of-sight with the transmitter, giving you a full 150 foot range.

The headphones and speakers have their own built-in receiver, so no wires are needed between you and your stereo. One transmitter operates an unlimited number of speakers and headphones.

Recoton's transmitter sends music through walls to wireless speakers over a 70,000 square foot area.

Stereo or hi-fi, you decide. These speakers have the option of either stereo or hi-fi sound. You can use two speakers, one set on right channel and the other on left, for full stereo separation. Or, if you just want an extra speaker in another room, set it on mono and listen to both channels on one speaker. Mono combines both left and right channels for hi-fi sound. This option lets you put a pair of speakers in the den and get full stereo separation or put one speaker in the kitchen and get complete hi-fi sound.

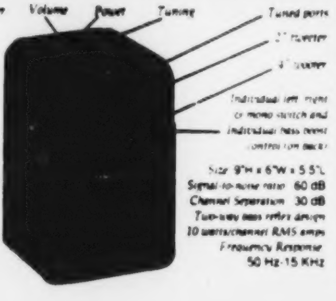
These wireless stereo headphones have a built-in receiver

Factory direct savings. Our commitment to quality and factory direct pricing allows us to sell more wireless speakers than anyone! For this reason, you can get these speakers far below retail with our 30 day *"Dare to Compare"* money-back guarantee and full one year manufacturer's warranty. For a limited time, the Recoton transmitter is only $69. It will operate an unlimited number of wireless speakers priced at $89 and wireless headphones at $69 each. Your order will be processed in 72 hours and shipped UPS.

AWARD WINNING WIRELESS SPEAKER

Built-in receiver and amplifier

The wireless speaker and headphones both contain a built-in receiver and amplifier. Signals are picked up and transmitted as far as 150 feet away through walls without the use of wires



Volume
Power
Tuning
Tuned ports
2" tweeter
4" woofer
Individual left, right or mono switch and individual bass boost control (on back)

Size 9"H x 6"W x 5.5"L
Signal-to-noise ratio 60 dB
Channel Separation 30 dB
Two-way bass reflex design
10 watts/channel RMS amps
Frequency Response 50 Hz-15 KHz

Don't take our word for it. Try it yourself. We're so sure you'll love the new award-winning Recoton wireless speaker system that we offer you the **Dare to Compare Speaker Challenge.** Compare Recoton's rich sound quality to that of any $200 wired speaker. If you're not completely convinced that these wireless speakers offer the same outstanding sound quality as wired speakers, simply return them within 30 days for a full "No Questions Asked" refund.

Recoton's Design and Engineering Award

Recoton Transmitter (you must have a transmitter to operate speakers and headphones)............**$69** $7 S&H

Wireless products compatible with the Recoton transmitter

Recoton Wireless Speaker..............**$89** $9 S&H

Recoton Wireless Headphones......**$69** $7 S&H

Please mention promotional code 165-BM1104

For fastest service call toll-free 24 hours a day

800-992-2966

To order by mail send check or money order for the total amount including S&H (VA residents add 4.5% sales tax). Or charge it to your credit card by enclosing your account number and expiration date. Send to:

INDUSTRIES

2820 Waterford Lake Drive Suite 106
Midlothian, Virginia 23113

EXHIBIT II

ONE COUPLE'S CRUSADE

continued

of AIDS. But as a mother, I cried, "Oh, God, no!" I vowed to do anything if we could only keep our son.

At midnight, as Jim and I lay frozen in bed, staring at the ceiling, I wondered how much longer I would really have my adorable baby. Then my thoughts stopped and I was swept by nausea. I rushed to the bathroom and threw up violently—but I didn't care. I was never so glad to get so sick in my whole life, because I realized the baby and I were both suffering from food poisoning, probably from the frozen custard we'd shared—nothing more serious.

Another crisis occurred when a caseworker notified us that state policy required like-race adoption placements—meaning that James Michael should go to a black family. I'm afraid I lost it at that point. I screamed like a banshee. Then I ran around the house packing. I telephoned for plane reservations for places as far away from Phoenix as James Michael and I could fly. Eventually I calmed down. Jim and I pleaded with the caseworker, then we threatened. We would, we promised, hold a press conference, go on radio and TV with our story. Thankfully, sanity soon prevailed. The state recognized that there was no line-up of families of any color waiting to adopt an AIDS baby. We could keep our son.

All along we took James Michael for regular blood tests. At nine months he still tested positive for AIDS antibodies. After that the tests came back "inconclusive." In July 1988, when he was 15 months old, he had yet another test. I expected another "inconclusive" report. Then one day my phone rang at home. It was the pediatrician's receptionist. She said, "I think I have the best news you're ever going to hear."

My heart leaped as I guessed: "He's negative!"

"Yes, he's negative," she answered. That meant James Michael did not have AIDS. He was a perfectly healthy baby.

I burst into tears. Then I tried to reach Jim at his office, but he wasn't in. I sprinted across the street to tell my neighbor. We grabbed each other and hugged. I left messages for Jim all over town, but couldn't reach him. So, using long lengths of freezer paper from the neighborhood butcher and a two-inch marking pen, I made a huge sign to tack up on the garage door. "He's negative!" I wrote in enormous letters.

Peeking through the blinds, James Michael and I waited for Jim's car to arrive. When he drove up and spotted the sign, he just slammed the car into park. I grabbed James Michael and we

continued on page 98

HAIR CARE

WHY YOUR FAVORITE SHAMPOO WILL WORK BETTER IF YOU STOP USING IT FOR 14 DAYS.

It's exasperating. The very shampoo that has left your hair so silky and clean, the shampoo you depend on—subtly, then noticeably stops working. That fresh softness you prize so much in clean hair is gone. Your hair looks limp…dull…blah.

Why why why? "Shampoo build-up" is the reason. Each washing, even by fine shampoos, leaves a shampoo "residue." Sadly, certain cleansing mixtures, and conditioning agents, if they are effective, leave a telltale residue that has been measured precisely in laboratory studies.

Laboratory tests on 15 quality shampoos show that residues keep accumulating each time you shampoo. It's a fact of hair life!

Getting rid of the build-up. Make no mistake. You must, temporarily, switch to a shampoo with super rinsability. One that has gently proven its power to revitalize the hair. And don't put it off. Shampoo build-up is more than unattractive: it can impair the soft feel of your hair… its manageability …and it can eventually harm your hair.

Which shampoo rinses the best? According to laboratory tests of 15 quality shampoos, Neutrogena Shampoo ranked No. 1, and "demonstrated consistently superior rinsability with almost no build-up itself."*

The clincher: in addition to instantly freeing your hair from most build-up in a single washing, Neutrogena leaves a scant residue, a negligible trace compared to all the other shampoos tested.

If you feel you want to revitalize your hair, try Neutrogena Shampoo for 14 days. Think of it as a refreshing "vacation"… and afterwards, your hair will respond again happily to your favorite shampoo. If you use your Neutrogena as often as needed, your favorite shampoo will keep on being your favorite!

Neutrogena Shampoo is sold with a satisfaction-or-your-money-back guarantee. It is available at better drug stores and cosmetic counters. Look for it—in the white box with the brown band.

*Excerpt from Neutrogena Skin Care Institute Report.

© 1985 Neutrogena Corporation

ATTENTION: MOUSSE/GEL USERS: ***Daily use of mousses and gels gradually builds up residue. Hair resists styling, loses shine. Most shampoos just can't cope. But laboratory tests show high-rinsability Neutrogena Shampoo is able to remove an average 90% of mousse or gel residue in 1 washing.***

Table 1:
Use of Advertorials
by Editorial Class and Audience Size

	Advertorials Per Issue (Number and Percent)			
Editorial Class	1990 (n=134)	1991 (n=139)	1992 (n=211)	3-Year (N=484)
Women's/Fashion/Child Rearing	2.04 (36.6%)	1.54 (26.6%)	3.0 (34.1%)	2.20 (32.6%)
General Appeal/News	1.54 (14.9)	2.38 (22.3)	1.77 (10.9)	1.90 (15.3)
Fishing/Hunting/Sports	1.31 (12.7)	1.54 (14.4)	1.92 (11.4)	1.59 (12.8)
Business/Finance	1.30 (12.7)	1.38 (12.9)	1.70 (10.4)	1.44 (11.6)
Home Services/Health/Epicurean	0.75 (6.7)	1.17 (10.1)	1.92 (10.9)	1.28 (9.5)
Men's	0.83 (7.5)	0.67 (5.8)	1.75 (10.0)	1.08 (8.1)
Special Appeal	0.50 (9.0)	0.46 (7.9)	1.08 (12.3)	0.68 (10.1)
Audience Size				
Small/Medium (5% or Less)	1.0 (45.5)	0.82 (36.0)	1.80 (52.1)	1.21 (45.7)
Large (over 5%)	1.46 (54.5)	1.78 (64.0)	2.02 (47.9)	1.75 (54.3)

Table 2:
Use of Ad Label

Year *	Present (%)	Absent (%)
1990 (n=134)	73.9	26.1
1991 (n=139)	66.2	33.8
1992 (n=211)	59.2	40.8
Ad Type *		
Product/Service Advertorial (n=420)	70.7	29.3
Advocacy/Issue Advertorial (n=64)	29.7	70.3
Magazine Title *		
Glamour (n=91)	91.2	8.8
Sports Illustrated (n=62)	87.1	12.9
Gentlemen's Quarterly (n=39)	74.4	25.6
Good HouseKeeping (n=67)	73.1	26.9
Better Homes & Gardens (n=46)	58.7	41.3
Time (n=74)	51.4	48.6
Gourmet (n=15)	46.7	53.3
Business Week (n=56)	42.9	57.1
Stereo Review (n=34)	14.7	85.3
Overall (N=484)	65.3	34.7

"*" = p< .05

Table 3a:
Typesize of Ad Label
Compared to Editorial Copy and Advertorial Copy

	Label Typesize					
	Compared to Editorial Copy (%)			Compared to Advertorial Copy (%)		
Year *	Smaller	Equal	Larger	Smaller	Equal	Larger
1990 (n=99)	69.7	12.1	11.7	72.7	12.1	15.2
1991 (n=92)	52.2	28.3	19.6	64.1	19.6	16.3
1992 (n=125)	74.4	24.8	2.7	88.0	12.0	0
Magazine Title *						
Stereo Review (n=5)	100.0	0	0	100.0	0	0
Good HouseKeeping (n=49)	81.6	11.6	2.7	87.8	12.2	0
Sports Illustrated (n=54)	79.6	14.8	5.6	85.2	11.1	6.7
Better Homes & Garden (n=27)	77.8	14.8	7.4	51.9	40.7	7.4
Business Week (n=24)	70.8	16.7	12.5	87.5	4.2	8.3
Time (n=38)	57.9	28.9	13.2	78.9	15.8	5.3
Gourmet (n=7)	57.1	42.9	0	85.7	14.3	0
Gentlemen's Quarterly (n=29)	55.2	34.5	8.1	79.3	13.8	6.9
Glamour (n=83)	50.6	25.3	24.1	63.9	12.0	24.1
Overall (N=316)	66.5	21.8	11.7	76.3	14.2	9.5

Table 3b:
Typeface of Label
Compared to Editorial Copy

Year *	Same	Slightly Different	Distinctively Different
1990 (n=99)	3.0 %	3.0 %	93.9 %
1991 (n=92)	3.3	3.3	93.5
1992 (n=125)	10.4	7.2	82.4
Overall (N=316)	6.0	4.7	89.2

"*" = p<.05

Table 4:
Advertorial Typesize and Typeface Compared to Editorial copy

Year *	Advertorial Typesize Compared to Editorial (%) Smaller	Equal	Larger	Advertorial Typeface Compared to Editorial (%) Same	Slightly Different	Distinctively Different
1990 (n=139)	14.9 %	64.9 %	20.1 %	18.7 %	26.1 %	55.2 %
1991 (n=134)	13.7	60.4	25.9	10.1	18.7	71.2
1992 (n=211)	10.9	62.6	26.5	27.5	36.5	36.0
Overall (N= 484)	12.8	62.6	24.6	20.0	28.5	51.4

Table 5:
Presence/Absence of Ad Label By Headline Type Used and Year

Headline Type *	Present (%)	Absent (%)
News/Information (n=287)	70.4	29.6
Not News/Information (n=197)	57.9	42.1
Overall (N=484)	65.3	34.7
Year		
1990 (n=71)	74.6	25.4
1991 (n=73)	78.1	21.9
1992 (n=143)	64.3	35.7
Overall (N=287)	70.4	29.6

"*" = $p < .05$

Table 6:
Location of the Sponsor Name/Logo

	Frequency (N=484)
Early Mention/ Conspicuously Display (58 %)	
Headline	22.7 %
Subheadline	9.3
Opening of the Advertorial Main Copy	26.7
Late Mention/ Inconspicuously Display (39.4 %)	
In the Middle	17.1
In the Closing	10.5
Separate from the Main Copy	11.8
Other	1.9

Table 7:
Location of the Sponsor Name/Logo by Presence/Absence of Ad Labeling

Ad Labeling *	Early Mention	Late Mention	Other
Present (n=316)	68.0 %	30.1 %	1.9 %
Absent (n=168)	41.1	57.1	1.8
Ad Labeling in Advertorials with News/Information Headline *			
Present (n=202)	73.8	25.2	1.0
Absent (n=85)	49.4	49.4	1.2

"*" = $p < .05$

Table 8:
Product/Service (Theme) Featured in Advertorials

Theme	3-Year (N=484)	1990 (n=134)	1991 (n=139)	1992 (n=211)
Fashion/Cosmetics	19.8 %	26.9 %	15.8 %	39.6 %
Health/Fitness	15.3	6.7	16.5	19.9
Sports	11.8	11.2	13.7	10.9
Business	10.5	4.5	4.3	18.5
Electronics/Computer	10.5	10.4	9.4	11.4
Public Association	6.8	6.7	8.6	5.7
Food/Cooking	6.2	9.7	7.2	3.3
Corporate Citizen	5.0	4.5	9.4	2.4
Travel	2.9	2.2	1.4	4.3
Financial	2.5	6.0	2.2	0.5
Home Care	2.1	0.7	0	4.3
Environment	0.8	0.7	2.2	0
Car Care	0.6	0.7	1.4	0
Other	5.4	9.0	7.9	0.9

MEDIA USAGE PATTERNS AND PREFERENCES OF HISPANICS IN A TEXAS MARKET

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Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Advertising Division
August 9 -12, 1995
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Abstract

MEDIA USAGE PATTERNS AND PREFERENCES OF HISPANICS IN A TEXAS MARKET

The study investigates media usage patterns of Hispanics in a medium-sized Texas market. Bilingual interviewers were used in a telephone survey of 973 Hispanic respondents. The study found that although the majority of the Hispanic respondents preferred to speak Spanish, or both Spanish and English, they tended to prefer English language media. A large majority preferred broadcast media over newspapers. Younger Hispanics were more likely to prefer speaking English and using English language media.

MEDIA USAGE PATTERNS AND PREFERENCES OF HISPANICS IN A TEXAS MARKET

The rapid increase in the number of Hispanics in the United States has caught the attention of major marketers, including such giants as Procter & Gamble, AT&T and Burger King (Fisher 1995b; Zbar 1995). Nearly one half of the Fortune 500 companies have targeted marketing efforts to ethnic minorities (McCarroll 1993). Even though the estimated household income of $28,890 is lower than for the general population, Hispanics represent a lucrative market (Livingston 1992). Estimates are that advertisers spent as much as $953 million in 1994 trying to reach the Hispanic market (Fisher 1995b). In a survey of national advertisers, Goodson and Shaver (1994) found that one company reported spending more than $20 million in marketing to Hispanics in 1989 alone.

U.S. Census Bureau data show that 24.1 million Hispanics made up 10 percent of the population of the U.S. in 1990. The Bureau's growth projections are that the group will make up 13 percent of the population by the end of the decade (Blaya 1991). Some growth projections put the proportion of Hispanics in the U.S. at 22 percent by the mid 21st Century (The Numbers... 1993). Clearly, Hispanics represents a growth opportunity for marketers.

Even though increased interest in the Hispanic market has generated both proprietary research (Fisher 1995b; Goodson & Shaver 1994), and published scholarly work (e.g. Delener & Neelankavil, 1990; O'Guinn, Faber & Meyer, 1985; Wilkes & Valencia 1985; Webster 1992), uncertainty remains regarding segmentation of the U.S. Hispanic population and media usage patterns.

Review of Literature

Segmenting the Hispanic Market

Guernica (1983) defined Hispanic as "that population segment with capacity of speaking and comprehending the Spanish language, whose ancestry is based on a Spanish-speaking country, and which identifies with Hispanic culture" (p. xvii). While no one would argue that persons who satisfy Guernica's three part definition are Hispanic, subsequent research on Hispanics typically includes non-Spanish speaking persons who identify themselves as Hispanic (e.g. Yankelovich,1984; Deshpade, Hoyer & Donthu 1986; Wilkes & Valencia 1985). Yankelovich found that only three percent of Hispanics surveyed knew English only, 20 percent knew Spanish only, and 45 percent were bilingual. However, more recent figures from Nielsen Media Research show that 36 percent of the nation's Hispanics speak mostly or only English in the home (Fisher 1995a). Webster (1992) used language use as criteria for determining how strongly Hispanics identified with their ethnic group. Presumably, those who speak Spanish only will more strongly identify with Hispanics. Similarly, Daubek sees three Hispanic subcultures in the U.S. based in part on language usage, including Hispanic culture dominant, bi-lingual and American culture dominant (Doley 1994). Grouping Hispanics by their relative use of Spanish may be complicated by the fact that U.S. Hispanics speak different dialects depending on one's country of origin (Livingston 1992). Holman (1993) noted that Hispanic subcultures can be identified by Spanish dialects which included Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican and Central American. However, others see differences in Spanish dialects as not important in determining usage of Spanish language media (Guernica 1982; Blaya 1991).

Geographic Differences

In an unpublished study (cited in Parker 1993), Mulhern and Williams pointed out that geographics are an attractive segmentation variable to marketers because of the high concentration of Hispanics in Texas, California, Florida, New York and Illinois. In fact, 23 percent of all U.S. Hispanics of Mexican origin live in Los Angeles, 53 percent of all U.S. Cubans live in Miami, and 44 percent of all Puerto Ricans reside in New York City (Winsberg 1994). The country of origin for U.S. Hispanics is led by Mexicans with 61 percent followed by Puerto Rico with 12 percent and Cuba with five percent (Winsberg).

Geographic differences among Hispanics as the result of country of origin is complicated by differences in the rate of acculturation. For example, as a group, Cubans are relatively recent immigrants, and cultural ties with their country of origin is partially reinforced by a continuing migration pattern. In the mid 1980s, Cubans were migrating to the Miami area at a rate of more than 10,000 per year (Allen & Turner 1988). Nearly equal number of Mexicans were migrating to Los Angeles, and although similar numbers were migrating to Texas, their destinations were distributed across major metropolitan areas and border cities (Allen & Turner). Whereas 80 percent of the Hispanic population in San Antonio was born in the United States and is more likely to be English speaking, 80 percent of Miami's Hispanic population is foreign-born and more likely to speak Spanish (Miles 1993). Webster (1992), whose study was limited to subjects in San Antonio, suggests that differences in Hispanic groups results from the degree of identification with separate Hispanic subcultures within the U.S. Livingston (1992) recommends that marketers attempt to understand the cultural nuances of Hispanic communities.

In summary, Hispanic population of the U.S. is extremely diverse and resistant to being easily categorized. In general, Hispanics may be grouped by language preference and use, country of origin, and concentrated geographic areas. However, degree of acculturation may result in sharp differences even in otherwise similar groups.

Media Usage Patterns

The heterogeneity of Hispanics in the U.S. suggest that attempting to generalize about their media usage may be difficult. There have been few attempts to identify these patterns. Guernica (1982) synthesized data from a Gallup survey and Arbitron reports to give a general view of Hispanic media usage habits. In general, he found that Hispanics were not heavy users of print media while broadcast media found high acceptance especially in the Spanish language. For radio, both men and women preferred Spanish format programming with 63 percent of Hispanic men listening to Spanish format radio each day (Guernica, p. 21). Women were slightly less likely to listen to Spanish format radio (50%) (p. 22). Little difference in age groupings were found with 58 percent of 18 to 34 year olds and 65 percent of older audiences reporting daily radio listening of Spanish radio. For television, Guernica reported that, "U.S. Hispanics display a strong preference for Spanish language television over English language television" (p. 35). He noted that "Hispanic women watch more Spanish television and more frequently and for longer periods than do Hispanic men" (p. 41). Also, he reported heavier viewing patterns for older Hispanics.

Yankelovich (1984) found that 73 percent of the Hispanics surveyed reported watching Spanish television sometime during a week. Similarly, 70 percent of the Hispanics surveyed listened to Spanish radio during a week. However, only 46 percent reported reading Spanish language print media. Using personal interviews of Hispanics in New York City, Delener and Neelankavil (1990) found a pattern of media usage nearly identical to that reported in Yankelovich study. However, the Delener and Neelankavil study did not limit responses to Spanish media; thus, suggesting the possibility that patterns of media usage by Hispanics may be similar for both English and Spanish media. For example, it is possible that for the Hispanic population viewership patterns of English and Spanish language television programming may be quite similar.

A recent survey by Miami based professional research firm, reported in an industry publication, found high levels of Hispanic preferences (55%) for Spanish radio and television programming (Fisher 1993). Consistent with previous studies, most Hispanics surveyed by the professional research firm reported that they did not read Spanish print media during a week. The study also found relatively low number of cable subscribers (35%) among Hispanics. The report did not state if the sample was national.

Recently, reports in industry trade publications indicated that Hispanics are also heavy viewers of English television programs especially among younger audiences (Miles 1993; Fisher 1995a). Fox had the top eight rated shows among Hispanic households in October 1994 including "Living Single" with a 15.5 rating (Fisher). Prime-time English television has combined reach of 58 percent of all Hispanic adults. The median age for Hispanics viewers is 26, seven years younger than for the general population (Miles). One industry professional speculated that the younger television audience skew may be the result of English being the first language of second generation Hispanics (Fisher). Recent industry awareness of the ability of English television to deliver large Hispanics audiences may be due in part to expanded service by Nielsen to measure Hispanic audiences (Wool 1993a & 1993b). Nielsen added 798 Hispanic holmes to its sample in 1993 (Wool 1993a).

In summary, Hispanics are believed to be heavy viewers of television and listeners of radio. While there is evidence that they have a strong preference for Spanish programming there is some evidence that they are also heavy consumers of English programming. Clarification is needed. Reported research on media usage patterns of Hispanics is largely commercially based audience research. Academic researchers have not fully explored relative media usage patterns of Hispanics relative to age groups, gender and language preferences. Some anomalies are apparent. For example, two of the studies reviewed showed marked differences in reported English usage among Hispanics. Thus, language preference among Hispanics needs to be further clarified.

In light of recent industry reports that English television programs are preferred by younger Hispanics, further investigation seems warranted. Can these preferences be confirmed and do other differences in media usage patterns exist among Hispanics of varying ages? As noted, industry sources speculated that younger audiences may prefer English television programs because English is their first language (Fisher 1995a). Thus, possible differences in media usage patterns between Hispanics who prefer English and those who prefer Spanish need further exploration.

Research Questions

The purposes of this study are to 1) determine the language preferences and media usage patterns of Hispanic adults, and 2) investigate possible differences in usage patterns by gender, age and language preference. Specific research question are as follows.

R1: What is the preferred language to use in the home among Hispanics?

R2: What local media are preferred and used by Hispanics based on the respondents' language preference?

R3: What local media are preferred and used by Hispanics based on the respondents' ages and gender?

Method

A random sample of 1,600 telephone numbers was purchased from a commercial direct-mail company using an up-dated version of the 1990 U.S. Census data for Lubbock County, Texas. The sample included only Hispanic residents with telephones. According to the 1990 U.S. Census Report, Lubbock County had an Hispanic population or 51,011 (22.9%) with 50.3% male and 49.7% female. About 46% of the Hispanic population was 25 years of age or older.

Eight bilingual interviewers (four male and four female) were trained to ask questions and to mark appropriate responses to the questions. Each interviewer was a life-long resident of the area and spoke regional Spanish.

Calls were placed to the sample between Tuesday, January 6, 1994 and Tuesday, January 11, 1994. Calls were made between 11 a.m. and 5 p.m. on Saturday, 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. on Sunday, and between 6 p.m. and 9 p.m. on Monday through Thursday. No calls were made on Friday. Callers made three attempts to contact respondents who did not answer and calls answered by an answering machine.

Callers asked to speak to the male person in the household over 18 years of age with the most recent birthday. If there was no male available, the caller asked to speak to a female in the household over 18 years of age with the most recent birthday. Callers confirmed the race of the respondents at the beginning of the questionnaire. Respondents were listed as Hispanic if they reported their race as Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, or Cubans.

When callers perceived that the respondents had difficulty in understanding the questions in English, the callers asked the respondents in Spanish whether they would prefer to be asked the questions in Spanish. Fifty-three respondents (8.6% of the sample) completed questionnaires in Spanish.

Of the 1,600 telephone numbers drawn for this study, 81 numbers were disconnected, 93 were answered by answering machines and 416 were not answered. Callers contacted 1,010 potential respondents; however, 37 respondents considered themselves to be Anglo, Asian, or African-American. Therefore, for purposes of this study, 973 Hispanic respondents were contacted. Six-hundred and nineteen qualified respondents completed the questionnaire. This represents a completion rate of 63.6 percent.

The data reported in this study regarding Hispanic media use were part of a larger study conducted by the researchers that also included retail spending habits of Hispanics.

At the time this research was conducted, there were two AM and one FM radio station providing Spanish language programming in the market. Telemundo and Univision were the only two Spanish language television channels available in the market. Both channels were available to cable subscribers and from off-the-air programming via two low-power stations (Univision, Channel 51; Telemundo, Channel 46). It should be noted that the off-the-air signal reception is very poor throughout the community. Two Spanish language newspapers are published weekly and distributed free through newsstands at local grocery and retail stores.

Results

R1: What is the preferred language to use in the home among Hispanics?

A majority of younger respondents (18-34) preferred to speak English in the home, while a higher percentage of the 35 and older respondents preferred to speak Spanish or both Spanish and English (X2=55.1, df 10, p=.0001). Female respondents (49%) were more likely than males (44%) to speak English; but, males (43%) were more likely than females (33%) to prefer both languages. However, the differences were not statistically significant (X2=.56, df 1, p=.45).

R2: What local media are preferred and used by Hispanics based on the respondents' language preference?

About 62% of the respondents had two or more color television sets in the home, while 44% subscribed to cable with a majority of the cable subscribers having only one cable set (Table 2). Respondents' language preference was not a factor in predicting the number of color sets found in the respondents' homes (X2=6.6, df 4, p=.16); however, respondents who preferred to speak Spanish in the home were more likely than respondents who preferred to speak English and Spanish to be cable subscribers (X2=6.17, df 2, p=.046). Respondents who preferred to speak English were more likely than respondents who preferred to speak Spanish or Spanish and English to have more than two cable sets in the home (X2=15.4, df 2, p=.004).

A majority of Hispanics (53%) had viewed television and had listened to radio (61%) fewer than 15 hours per week during the preceding month. The respondents' language preference was not a factor in predicting the number of hours respondents viewed television (x2=8.48, df 4, p=.08). However, respondents who preferred to speak English tended to have listened to radio fewer hours than did respondents who preferred to speak both English and Spanish (X2=16, df 4, p=.003).

A majority (60%) of the respondents viewed Spanish television channels; however, only six percent preferred Spanish language radio programming. As one may anticipate, a majority of the respondents who preferred to speak Spanish or Spanish and English in the home were more likely than respondents who preferred to speak English to view Spanish television programming (X2=103.5, df 4, p=.0001). About 62 percent of the respondents who preferred to speak English in the home had not viewed any Spanish language television programming.

Even though a very large majority of the respondents preferred English language radio programming (94%), respondents who preferred to speak English in the home were more likely than respondents who preferred to speak Spanish and English to prefer English language radio programming (X2=12.6, df 2, p=.002).

A majority of the respondents (58%) did not have a newspaper delivered to their home, and only 20 percent had read a Spanish language newspaper during the past month. The respondents' language preference was not a factor in predicting whether respondents had newspapers delivered to their home (X2=4.09, df 4, p=.39); however, respondents who preferred to speak Spanish or Spanish and English in the home were more likely than respondents who preferred to speak English to have read a Spanish language newspaper during the preceding month (X2=18.9, df 2, p=.0001).

R3: What local media are preferred and used by Hispanics based on the respondents' age and gender?

A majority of respondents between 18 and 54 years-of-age had two or more color television sets in the household (Table 3), and they were more likely than respondents 55 years-of-age and older to have two color sets (X2=35.2, df 10, p=.0001).

The age category with the highest percentage of cable subscribers was the 45-54 year-old age group. Yet, age was not a factor in predicting whether respondents would be cable subscribers (x2=6.06, df 5, p=.29). However, the 45-54 year-old respondent was more likely to have two or more cable sets in his/her home (X2=35.4, df 10, p=.001).

Respondents between 18 and 54 years-of-age tended to view television more hours than respondents 55 years-of-age and older; however, the differences were not statistically significant (X2=14.4, df 10, p=.15). A majority of the respondents 18-34 years-of-age did not view any Spanish language television programming during the preceding month and were less likely than respondents in other age categories to view Spanish language programming (X2=31.6, df 10, p=.0005). Yet, they were more likely to spend more time listening to radio (X2=191.2, df 10, p=.0001). Respondents 55 years of age and older were less likely to have listened to radio, but when they do listen, they are more likely than respondents representing other age categories to prefer English language radio programming (X2=11.7, df 5, p=.04).

Hispanic respondents between the ages of 18 and 54 years are less likely than respondents 55 years-of-age and older to have a newspaper delivered to their home (X2=53.5, df 10, p=.0001), and the 18-44 year-old-respondent was less likely to have read a Spanish language newspaper (X2=11.8, df 5, p=.04).

There were few differences in media use among male and female respondents (Table 4). Male and female respondents tended to have watched fewer than 15 hours of television each week and listened to fewer than 15 hours of radio weekly. Even though a majority of male and female respondents viewed Spanish language television, men were less likely than females to view

(X2=15.5, df 2, p=.0004). This was the only statistically significant difference in this study between male and female media uses and preferences.

Male and female respondents seemed to have preferred English language media. A large majority of male and female respondents had not read a Spanish language newspaper during the previous month and they indicated a preference for English language radio programming.

Conclusions

A majority of the Hispanic respondents prefer to speak Spanish or both Spanish and English in the home. This finding is similar to previous studies; however, the percentage of Hispanics who prefer English (46%) is higher than recently reported by Neilsen (36%) (Fisher 1995a). As suggested by Miles (1993), Hispanic populations in Texas may have a greater preference for speaking English than other Hispanics in the U.S.

Despite preferences for Spanish or both Spanish and English speech, Hispanics in this study tend to prefer English language media over Spanish language media. This finding is in sharp contrast to Guernica's (1982) conclusions and reports of recent industry study (Fisher 1993) that found the opposite to be true. These results may be indicative of greater acculturation of Hispanics since the earlier study or evidence of regional differences in Hispanics. Hispanics surveyed in this study were primarily Mexican-Americans. The industry study reported by Fisher (1993) was from a Miami based research firm and may have surveyed a disproportionate number of Cuban-Americans.

A very large majority of the respondents prefer the broadcast media over newspapers with only about 20 percent of the respondents having read a newspaper during the preceding month. This confirms the findings of earlier research (Guernica 1982; Yankelovich 1984; Delener & Neelankavil, 1990). It is interesting to note that 44 percent of the respondents subscribed to cable; yet, 60 percent had viewed one of the Spanish language cable channels, during the preceding month. This suggests that Hispanics without cable service may view Spanish language programs 1) in the homes of friends, 2) in out-of-home environments, or 3) from poor off-the-air reception from low power stations. Further research is needed to fully explain this anomaly. However, if true, the additional effort required of non-cable subscribing Hispanics to find and view Spanish language television suggests highly motivated viewers which may be of particular interest to advertising media planners.

The 18 to 34 year-old respondents were more likely to prefer to speak English and to prefer English language media. This confirms industry reports of a younger skew for Hispanic television audiences (Miles 1993). Respondents, 35-years-of-age and older, tended to prefer to speak both languages and spend more time viewing Spanish language television programs. This research suggests that Hispanics who are likely to listen to, view or read Spanish language media are likely to prefer to speak Spanish or both Spanish and English in their homes.

Therefore, advertisers who want to target Hispanics between the ages of 18 and 34 should consider English language radio and television as primary media. The 35-year-old and older Hispanic market may require a mix of English and Spanish language broadcast media to be reached effectively. English and Spanish language print media is likely to serve only as secondary and tertiary media for reaching Hispanics.

The findings of this study are limited by the regional nature of the sample. Studies of other regions, especially those with Hispanics populations of different countries origins, or studies using a national sample are necessary to increase the generalizability of the findings. Another limitation of this study is the self-reported nature of the data. Future studies might utilize observational designs. The focus of this study was limited to three major media. Future research should examine usage patterns of other media, such as magazine, direct mail and outdoor advertising.

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Table 1

Preferred Language by Respondents' Age and Sex

Age	18-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65+		
%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	Tot %		
Language													
English	77	66	99	51	44	35	37	44	19	42	10	24	46
Spanish	15	13	20	10	24	19	12	14	9	20	18	44	16
Both	25	21	77	39	56	46	36	42	17	38	13	32	38

X2=55.1, df 10, p=.0001

Gender	Male		Female		
	N	%	N	%	Tot %
Language					
English	126	44	160	49	46
Spanish	40	14	60	18	16
Both	122	42	109	33	38

X2=.56, df 1, p=.45

Table 2

Media Use and Preference by Respondents' Language Preference

Language	**Preference**	English		Spanish		Both		Tot%
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
Number Color TV Sets								
	One	99	35	42	42	67	29	34
	Two+	177	62	55	55	151	65	62
	None	0	3	3	3	13	6	4
	X2=6.63, df 4, p=.16							
Cable Subscribers								
	Yes	134	47	50	50	87	38	44
	No	152	53	50	50	144	62	56
	X2=6.17, df 2, p=.046							
Cable Sets								
	One	74	26	37	37	42	18	25
	Two/More	60	21	13	13	45	19	19
	None	152	53	50	50	144	63	56
	X2=15.42, df 2, p=.004							
Hours Viewing TV								
	15 Hours & Fewer	143	50	57	57	126	55	53
	16 Hours & More	135	48	38	38	103	44	45
	None	5	2	5	5	2	1	2
	X2=8.48, df 4, p=.08							
Spanish TV Viewed								
	Telemundo	41	14	33	33	72	31	24
	Univision	70	24	54	54	99	43	36
	None	175	62	13	15	60	26	40
	X2=103.5, df 4, p=.0001							
Hours Listen Radio								
	15 Hours & Fewer	185	66	59	61	125	55	61
	16 Hours & More	78	28	22	23	83	36	30
	None	16	6	15	16	20	9	9
	X2=16.0, df 4, p=.003							
Radio Preferred								
	Spanish	8	3	2	3	20	11	6
	English	249	97	59	97	162	89	94
	X2=12.6, df 2, p=.002							

Table 2 (Continued)

Media Use and Preference by Respondents' Language Preference

Language Preference	English N	English %	Spanish N	Spanish %	Both N	Both %	Tot%
Newspaper Delivered To Home							
Local	111	39	42	42	86	37	39
Regional	5	2	5	5	6	3	3
None	170	59	53	53	139	60	58
X2=4.09, df 4, p=.39							
Spanish Newspaper Read							
Yes	36	13	30	30	56	24	20
No	250	87	70	70	174	76	80
X2=18.9, df 2, p=.0001							

Table 3

Media Use and Preference by Respondents' Age

Age	18-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65+		
		%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	Tot %
Number Color TV Sets													
One	44	37	54	28	45	36	16	18	23	51	23	56	34
Two	70	59	133	68	77	62	63	74	18	40	18	44	62
None	5	4	9	4	2	2	6	8	4	9	0	0	4
	X2=35.2, df 10, p=.0001												
Cable Subscribers													
Yes	53	45	83	42	58	47	46	54	15	33	18	44	44
No	66	55	113	58	66	53	39	46	30	67	23	56	56
	X2=6.06, df 5, p=.29												
Cable Sets													
One	28	24	41	21	41	33	16	19	13	29	16	39	25
Two/More	25	21	42	21	17	14	30	35	2	4	2	5	19
None	66	55	113	58	66	53	39	46	30	67	23	56	56
	X2=35.4, df 10, p=.001												
Hours Viewing TV													
15 & Fewer	58	49	96	49	70	56	37	43	30	67	28	68	53
16 & More	58	49	92	47	52	42	46	54	15	33	13	32	45
None	2	2	6	4	2	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	2
	X2=14.4, df 10, p=.15												
Spanish TV Viewed													
Telemundo	24	20	41	21	29	23	26	31	11	24	8	19	24
Univision	34	29	57	29	54	44	40	47	18	40	20	49	36
None	61	51	98	50	41	33	19	22	16	36	13	32	40
	X2=31.67, df 10, p=.0005												
Hours Listen Radio													
15 & Fewer	76	67	115	59	89	72	49	59	23	55	13	33	61
16 & More	38	33	75	39	33	27	23	28	12	29	2	5	30
None	0	0	4	2	2	1	11	13	7	16	24	62	9
	X2=191.2, df 10, p=.0001												

Table 3 (Continued)

Media Use and Preference by Respondents' Age

Age	18-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	Tot %
Radio Preferred													
Spanish	2	2	18	10	6	6	4	6	0	0	0	0	6
English	103	98	156	90	101	94	62	94	31	100	13	100	94
	X2=11.7, df 5, p=.04												
Newspaper Delivered To Home													
Local	22	18	88	45	47	38	37	43	23	51	22	54	39
Regional	0	0	6	3	2	2	3	4	5	11	0	0	3
None	97	82	102	52	75	60	45	53	17	38	19	46	58
	X2=53.5, df 10, p=.0001												
Spanish Newspaper Read													
Yes	14	12	38	19	21	17	25	29	9	20	11	27	20
No	105	88	157	81	103	83	60	71	36	80	30	73	80
df 5, p=.04													

Table 4

Media Use/Preference by Respondents' Gender

Gender	Male		Female		
	N	%	N	%	Tot %
Hours Viewing TV					
15 Hours & Fewer	146	51	180	55	53
16 Hours & More	134	47	144	44	45
None	8	2	4	1	2
X2=2.65, df 2, p=.27					
Spanish TV Viewed					
Telemundo	81	28	65	20	24
Univision	81	28	142	43	36
None	126	44	124	37	40
X2=15.5, df 2, p=.0004					
Hours Listen Radio					
15 Hours & Fewer	173	62	198	61	61
16 Hours & More	86	31	97	30	30
None	22	7	29	9	9
X2=.25, df 2, p=.88					
Radio Preferred					
Spanish	12	5	18	6	6
English	222	95	250	94	94
X2=.56, df 1, p=.45					
Spanish Newspaper Read					
Spanish	58	20	64	19	20
None	229	80	267	81	80
X2=.07, df 1, p=.78					

Rankings of Advertising Programs by Advertising Educators

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Rankings of Advertising Programs by Advertising Educators

ABSTRACT

Many advertising practitioners have criticized ad education, but it is unclear on what those opinions are based. Educators should be educating the industry about their programs, but that effort should concentrate on the most exemplary programs in the nation. Unfortunately, unlike other disciplines, ad programs never have been ranked. A survey is presented that asked the heads of 143 advertising programs to rank both undergraduate and graduate ad programs. Additional questions look at what these professors believe contributes to a quality ad program.

INTRODUCTION

Since the first advertising course was taught at New York University in 1905 (Ross and Schweitzer 1990; Rotzoll and Barban 1984; Schultze 1982) the value of collegiate education in advertising has been subject of frequent debate. Some observers, especially from the professional community, emphatically denounce the merit of such formal education (e.g., Nelson 1979). The substance of their argument is that advertising is a craft, incapable of being taught (Kover 1976), and that it is frequently taught by Ph.D. academics who lack the necessary practical experience (Williams 1979).

Others, including both academics and practitioners, vigorously defend formal ad training (Kingman 1977; Christian 1973). Their arguments usually are based on the belief that providing students with knowledge of the field, even in lieu of experience, makes them better equipped to practice advertising than those who come to the profession with no training whatsoever (Britt 1967). But historically, there has been a significant division between the perspectives of those who teach advertising and those who practice it (Moore and Leckenby 1973).

In recent years a few researchers have tried to resolve this debate by looking at the correlation between ad education and career success of advertising professionals (Donnelly 1992; Hunt, Chonko and Wood 1987). Their results are encouraging for advertising educators, finding that advertising (or related communications degrees) and marketing majors tend to dominate the upper echelons of ad agencies. Although this does not entirely resolve the debate, it does suggest that ad education programs offer students some advantage over those with no advertising or marketing training.

One plausible explanation for the disparity in opinion is that practitioners may possess little knowledge about ad education (Britt 1967). It has been suggested that advertising educators have done a poor job of educating practitioners about university ad programs (Richards and Stout 1992). If this is true, there may likewise be some truth to the opinion that educators know little about advertising, since they have been unable to promote their own product.

But ad education, as a whole, is difficult to promote, because there is little uniformity from program to program. More than 100 advertising programs, sequences, and tracks are offered in journalism, communication, business and other departments, and they range in offerings from a single advertising class to more than a dozen classes (Ross 1991). In addition, some programs offer only an undergraduate education, at least one offers only a graduate degree, and others offer both (Ross and Johnson 1993).

Consequently, ad education is not a single product, but a multitude of products. It may be that practitioners do know something about ad education, but their knowledge and attitude are based on only one or two programs that do not meet their expectations. Ideally, educators should hold up their best examples as illustrative of what these programs can accomplish. The problem is knowing which are the best programs.

Several other professional education programs, like business, engineering, and law, have the benefit of national rankings being published annually in the popular press (e.g., U.S. News & World Report 1994). Within the academy there seems to be a feeling that "everyone knows" which advertising programs are best. However, they never have been ranked in the popular press, and there have been almost no attempts to rank them in the academic journals.

Ross and Johnson (1993), as a part of an annual census, have made it possible to rank ad programs according to student enrollments. Soley and Reid

(1983, 1988) and Barry (1990) have ranked them according to faculty research article productivity. Watson, Edwards and Barker (1989) surveyed members of the Association for Communication Administration and the Broadcast Education Association, asking them to rank doctoral programs in advertising.

Unfortunately, none of these rankings indicate what those with a vested interest – the teachers, practitioners, and students of advertising – believe are the best ad programs. Unpublished surveys have asked professionals (e.g., Stout and Richards 1994) and academics (e.g., Keenan 1991) to rank programs, but none appear to have been published.

The purpose of the present study is to begin filling this surprising gap in available information about advertising education programs. Although practitioners are in the best position to evaluate post-education performance by students, those who teach advertising should be the most knowledgable regarding ad programs nationwide. Consequently, a survey of advertising academics was conducted to obtain their opinions regarding the following questions:

1. What colleges or universities offer the best undergraduate programs in advertising?
2. What colleges or universities offer the best graduate programs in advertising?

In addition, to obtain some insight into those rankings some additional information was collected to begin answering the following:

3. What attributes of an advertising program do academics believe contribute to making it a good program?

METHOD

Sampling and Data Collection

In 1993, 143 schools offered advertising education in some form (Ross and Johnson 1993). To avoid giving opinions from schools with larger numbers of faculty greater weight, it was determined that only one faculty member from each school should be sampled. In addition, knowledge of a variety of ad programs is likely to increase with teaching experience. Therefore, in programs where more than one person teaches advertising classes, a more senior faculty member seemed to be in the best position to answer the questionnaire. As a result, a questionnaire was mailed to the advertising program or sequence head at each of those 143 schools. While this might not be the best choice in all cases, it seemed the most logical approach.

Since the research was being conducted at one of the schools in question, there was a particular danger of response bias. This is especially true because the researchers are located at one of the schools that, based upon previous studies, might reasonably be expected to be ranked among the top programs. Unfortunately, as important as school rankings are, there is little incentive for researchers in less prestigious programs to conduct such a study.

Consequently, extraordinary precautions were taken to ensure source anonymity. Besides providing no information about source on the questionnaires, they were mailed from Maui, Hawaii and included return envelopes addressed to a business in Indianapolis, Indiana. The researchers are located in neither state, and the instructions to respondents stated that "great pains are being taken to ensure the study is blinded, so the results will be valid. Neither the postmark nor the return address should provide any clues as to the source of this study."

Out of 143 surveys mailed in a single wave, 71 were returned. Although none were returned undeliverable, three were returned blank. One was marked "no ad classes," and two had notes indicating the respondents refused to complete the questionnaires without knowing who was conducting the survey or how the information would be used. Although some of the questions were left blank on some questionnaires, a total 68 completed or partially completed forms were returned, for a response rate of 47.6 percent. This is well within expected response rates for a survey of this type (Kanuk and Berenson 1975).

Questionnaire

Respondents received one page of instructions and a single-page questionnaire. Although the envelope was addressed to the advertising program or sequence head, the instructions specifically asked that the questionnaire be completed by the person in charge of the advertising program or sequence or, if the school has no official sequence, by the advertising professor who has been at that school the longest period of time. The instructions then made a plea for the respondent to complete the "brief survey," and assured confidentiality.

To minimize bias, the questionnaire asked respondents not to include their own program in the rankings. The first question asked, "NOT INCLUDING YOUR OWN PROGRAM, please rank order the three colleges or universities in the U.S. which you consider to have the very best undergraduate programs in advertising? [1 = best, 2 = next best, etc.]" The second question was worded identically, except that it substituted "graduate" for "undergraduate." In both cases, three numbered blanks were provided.

The fact that respondents consider a certain program to be the top in its field, does not necessarily mean they believe that program is heading in the best direction. For example, the top program might teach only traditional approaches to advertising, while respondents believe that integrated communications are the wave of the future. To provide some insight into what aspects of a program advertising academics consider important, respondents also were asked the following: "NOT INCLUDING YOUR OWN PROGRAM, which advertising program would you most like to emulate?" A follow-up question asked, "What one aspect of that program would you most like to emulate?" No attempt was made to distinguish between graduate and undergraduate programs, because most of the schools surveyed offer no graduate degree in advertising (Ross and Johnson 1993).

In addition, because the departmental location of advertising programs varies from university to university, the relationship of advertising to other disciplines could help to identify the atmosphere most conducive to creating an "ideal" advertising program. To explore this issue, respondents were asked: "In your opinion, with which of the following disciplines does advertising have the most in common? [Check One]" The options were Art, Home Economics/Consumer Science, English, Journalism, Marketing, Radio & Film, and Speech. Although some ad programs are located in a "Communication" department, that option was omitted in order to force respondents to select a narrower description.

And to guage the sentiments of advertising academics regarding the traditional "practice" versus "theory" debate (Lancaster, Katz and Cho 1990), two questions were asked. The first question addressed this issue in terms of teaching qualifications: "How important is it for an advertising professor to have experience in the advertising industry?" Respondents were presented a Likert-type scale with the following response choices: "Not at all Important," "Somewhat Important," "Very Important," and "Absolutely Essential." The second question used a five-point scale ranging from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree, including a No Opinion option, and asked them to respond to this statement: "An advertising curriculum should focus on theory and principles rather than practical skills."

In order to keep the questionnaire brief, thereby increasing the probable response rate, little demographic information was collected. However, some basic information was collected, including respondents' educational background and the size of their program. Relevant to the "practice" versus "theory" issue, they were asked: "How many years of work experience do you have in the advertising industry?" They were instructed not to include time spent consulting, when their primary employment was as an academic.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Demographics

A frequent criticism of advertising programs is that they are taught by Ph.D. academics with no practical experience. While this survey was not designed to be generalizable to all advertising professors, it was directed at the "head" of every program in the U.S. Because the person in charge of a program frequently has above-average influence over its content and direction, the educational and professional background of this person certainly has bearing on that criticism.

Of the 68 useful questionnaires, only one respondent failed to provide information about what degrees they held. Of those who did respond, 43.3 percent (29) held doctoral degrees, 55.2 percent (37) held master's degrees, and 1.5 percent (1) held a bachelor's.

All 68 respondents answered the question about their years of work in the advertising industry. Only 2.9 percent (2) had no practical experience at all, while 22.1 percent (15) had less than 5 years experience, 25 percent (17) had between 5 and 9 years, 17.6 percent (12) had 10 to 14 years, and 32.4 percent (22) had 15 or more years.

Respondents represented programs ranging in size: 11.8 percent (8) had fewer than 40 students, 36.8 percent (25) had between 40 and 124, 41.2 percent (28) had 125-249, and 10.3 percent (7) had more than 250 students. Although no figures are readily available, this seems to be a fair reflection of the national distribution of ad programs.

Less than half of these ad programs are led by educators with a Ph.D., and less than 3 percent of them have no practical experience. If those who lead the programs are any indication, that criticism of advertising education would appear overstated.

Undergraduate Rankings

When asked to list, in rank order, the top three undergraduate advertising programs, some respondents listed only one or two schools. Others failed or refused to list any schools at all. Several made comments such as, "Don't know enough about other schools' programs to answer," or simply "Don't know," "Don't care," or "No opinion." One remarked, "No credible basis for evaluation." However, most respondents listed one or more schools.

Of the schools listed, the University of Texas was mentioned by more respondents than any other school. However, because they were asked to rank programs, responses were weighted according to position, with the first choice assigned three (3) points, second choice assigned two (2) points, and third choice assigned one (1) point. Using this weighted score, Michigan State University and the University of Illinois tie for the top position.

It should be noted that this weighting procedure is not ideal. It assumes interval scaling, when in fact the ranking is ordinal. However, this approach seems to be the most manageable scheme for ranking programs, and it should provide a fair approximation of the order.

The top nine programs chosen by academics, along with the number of mentions and the weighted scores, are presented in Table 1. Only the top nine are listed, because the scores drop dramatically after that and several schools tied for the next position. Although the order changed, when converting from number of mentions to weighted score, the top nine programs in each list were the same.

Table 1

Rank	School	Mentions	Weighted Score
1	Michigan State University	22	46
	University of Illinois	19	46
3	University of Texas	23	44
4	University of Florida	13	24
5	University of Missouri	8	22
6	University of North Carolina	10	21
7	Northwestern University	7	19
8	Syracuse University	8	18
9	University of Georgia	11	17

Rankings Of Undergraduate Programs

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this ranking is the disparity in scores between the third and fourth school on the list, dropping by nearly 50 percent. This suggests a relative consensus among academics regarding which schools are "first tier" among undergraduate advertising programs.

Graduate Rankings

When asked to rank graduate advertising programs, there were similar non-responses. But, again, most respondents supplied some answers. The findings appear in Table 2. Like the undergraduate ranking, both number of mentions and weighted scores are provided.

Table 2

Rank	*School*	*Mentions*	*Weighted Score*
1	Northwestern University	25	57
2	University of Illinois	21	56
3	University of Texas	29	55
4	Michigan State University	21	35
5	University of Georgia	7	17
6	University of North Carolina	6	13
7	University of Florida	5	12
8	Syracuse University	5	10
9	University of Missouri	2	6
	University of Tennessee	4	6

Rankings Of Graduate Programs

Again the University of Texas was mentioned by more respondents, but in this case Northwestern University took the top position when a weighted score was applied. Like the undergraduate ranking, there was a marked drop in scores between the third and fourth position. But there was yet another drop between the fourth and fifth. Although both Michigan State and Illinois received the same number of mentions, their weighted scores differ dramatically. This occurred because most respondents who mentioned Illinois ranked it in first place, while most who mentioned Michigan State ranked it third. It appears that both schools enjoy significant name recognition within academia, but the perception of the two programs is quite different.

Academics' Values

Just because a program is acknowledged to be the best in its class does not necessarily mean that it is the "ideal." Indeed, even if all ad programs were terrible, there would still be one or two that are less terrible than the others. And there is always the possibility that a program not currently among the best has "a better idea" that may eventually lead it to surpass the others. Consequently, academics might recognize one program as "the best," but admire a different program as one on which they would like to model their own program.

To obtain a ranking that reflects the personal objectives of faculty, they were asked to name the one program they would most like to emulate. Forty-seven respondents answered this question. All schools that received more than one mention are listed in Table 3.

Table 3

Rank	*School*	*Mentions*
1	University of Illinois	11
2	Northwestern University	7
3	University of Texas	6
4	Michigan State University	4
5	Syracuse University	3
	University of Missouri	3
7	University of Florida	2
	University of Oregon	2

Programs That Respondents Would Most Like To Emulate

The top four schools in this ranking and the ranking of graduate programs are identical, except that the University of Illinois and Northwestern University have traded places. In fact, Illinois received far more mentions than any other school. Apparently there is something about that program that academics admire.

A follow-up open-ended question asked respondents what aspect, of the program they named, they would most like to emulate. The results of that question (N=45) are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Aspect of Program	*Mentions*
Orientation	
Professional Orientation	6
Theory/Research Orientation	5
Mix of Professional and Theory	5
Integrated Communications Approach	2
Creative Emphasis	1
Student Orientation	1
Resources	
Facilities and Equipment	5
Variety of Courses	4
Faculty	3
Students	1
Support from Dean & Administration	1
Small Class Size	1
Other	
Success in AAF Competition	2
Relationship with Agencies	1
Misc. (Growth, Quality, Spirit, etc.)	7

Aspect Of Program That Respondents Would Like To Emulate

Most of the responses were very brief (3 - 4 words), and are roughly categorized in Table 4. It can be seen that the largest number of answers concerned the philosophical orientation of the admired program. The "practice" versus "theory" debate clearly continues to play a significant role in academics' attitudes toward advertising education, with more than one-third of responses directly related to that issue. While professional orientation holds a slight edge, with 6 mentions, 5 indicated a preference for a theory orientation, and another 5 indicated a preference for some form of balance between the two extremes.

Two additional questions, later in the questionnaire, further explored attitudes regarding that same issue. One asked about the importance of an advertising professor having work experience in the ad industry. All respondents answered the question (N=68), and none indicated such experience was "Not at all important." Twenty-five percent (17) claimed it was "Somewhat Important," 29.4 percent (20) said it was "Very Important," and 45.6 percent (31) considered it "Absolutely Essential."

The other related question asked specifically whether respondents agreed with the statement that an ad curriculum should focus on theory and principles rather than practical skills. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being "Strongly Disagree" and 5 being "Strongly Agree," the mean response was 2.46 (N=67). Sixty-two percent (42) chose either "1" or "2." Only 6 percent (4) indicated strong agreement with that statement.

While there is no doubt that some academics believe strongly in teaching "theory" to students, the vast majority of these respondents believe that it is important to teach practical skills to students. These questions did not attempt to distinguish between graduate and undergraduate programs, but the similarity of the rankings, above, suggest schools that have a respected undergraduate program also tend to have a respected graduate program. Consequently, these questions might be expected to result in similar responses for both graduate and undergraduate programs.

One other question asked with which discipline advertising has the most in common. This was asked to determine where academics felt an advertising program might best flourish. Seven disciplines with some relationship to advertising were listed as options. The results are shown in Table 5. Although the more general category of "communication" was not one of the options, two respondents wrote in that response.

Table 5

Discipline	Mentions	Percent
Art	1	1.5
Home Economics/Consumer Science	1	1.5
English	0	0
Journalism	19	29.2
Marketing	39	60.0
Radio & Film	0	0
Speech	3	4.6
* Communication	2	3.1

* Write-in choice, not included in original options

Disciplines With Which Advertising Has The Most In Common

Respondents clearly believe advertising is most closely related to marketing. Today, however, most advertising programs are located in journalism and other communication departments (Ross and Schweitzer 1990). This suggests that most advertising programs may not currently be located in the atmosphere most conducive to their success. All of the "top tier" programs in both the graduate and undergraduate rankings above are located in a communications college, but all of them are in their own department, rather than in a department that teaches journalism or speech.

CONCLUSION

If advertising educators, collectively, are to dispel misperceptions that practitioners may have about ad education, they should teach the industry about their best programs. For both graduate and undergraduate education there is a distinct "first tier" among programs, in the opinions of academics. Those programs should be held out as exemplary.

If educators are to improve upon their current programs, they must strive to correct the known deficiencies in those programs. While this study did not attempt to poll all advertising faculty, the ones who lead this country's programs believe that skills courses are essential, that faculty should have some work experience in the industry, and that advertising is more closely related to marketing than to communications disciplines. There is continuing debate, however, about the balance of theory and practical skills in the classroom. In order to advance the current state of ad education, it seems logical that this debate should be resolved and a more unified effort be established.

While a small group of programs was found to be considered "the best," more research is necessary to determine what it is about those programs that puts them in that enviable position. Although respondents placed great emphasis on the need to teach practical skills, there is no clear basis for determining whether or not those top programs do this. Perhaps if these academics knew more about the programs around the country, including their orientation and resources, the rankings might be quite different. Unfortunately, little information about these programs is readily available to them. Better communication among programs might result in better programs.

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Information Source for Shopping Decisions and Advertising Content Preferences of Malaysian Youth

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Information Source for Shopping Decisions and Advertising Content Preferences of Malaysian Youth

Abstract

This study looks at 1)information source preferences for shopping decisions and 2)television advertising content preferences of Malaysian students. The study is descriptive in nature and adopts the framework of traditional Eastern cultural and communication values for exploring these preferences. It finds that Malaysian students' preferences do not fall in line with these traditional values. While Malaysian students place family and friends as their most important sources of information, advertising and consumer information sources follow closely. Similarly, their preferences in advertising content are more Western; they want direct, factual, informative advertising content. The strong consumer association in Penang where the data were collected, the influence of foreign agencies, the global economy and the consumer culture it spreads, as well as the youth of the sample are offered as explanations.

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Information Source for Shopping Decisions and Advertising Content Preferences of Malaysian Youth

Introduction

Preferences for sources of information for shopping decisions differ among consumers. These differences may exist because of cultural reasons at a macro level or, within a society, by gender and ethnic group. Consumers' preferences for advertising content may differ similarly. This paper describes Malaysian students' preferences for information sources for shopping decisions and advertising content and identifies gender and ethnic group differences in these.

Asian countries are becoming increasingly important economically; it is in these countries that growth is and will continue to take place. Many of these countries are adopting friendlier attitudes to free market policies. As a result, advertising is on the rise in these countries and foreign, particularly Western, advertising agencies are expanding their operations into these countries. Malaysia is no exception to this trend. Given the vast differences in culture between Western and these Asian countries, information on Asian consumers and their preferences is vital to the success of foreign marketing and advertising firms. As Onkvisit and Shaw (1985) have pointed out, while American marketing firms "will go to great lengths to study their American customers in order to find the most effective way to communicate with them.... they generally have not exhibited the same kind of deligence and attention when they venture abroad" (p. 5).

Asian Cultures.

Vertical structures, group orientation, conformity, interconnectedness with family, and the preservation of relationships are well known characteristics of Eastern cultures. As Frith (1991) suggests, "Unlike the individualistic, egalitarian, democratic and liberal traditions of Western economic and political theory, many Asian societies value communal, autocratic, hierarchical and conservative traditions that emphasize social harmony and meeting one's duties and obligations to the collective" (pp. 3-4). Asians place a "high importance on consensus and maintaining harmony in social relationships" (p. 13). The modes of expression in these cultures are therefore more formal. These are also high context cultures where information resides more in the context and the communicator than in the message. As a result, communication is more indirect, implicit, symbolic, and understated. Western culture stands at the other end. Horizontal structures, individuality, and directness are values in place there with the result that competition, primary control and informality are prized (Weiz, Rothbaum, and Blackburn, 1984; Okabe; 1983, Frith, 1990). Communication is more direct, upfront, and explicit.

International Advertising Studies

Studies in international advertising have tried to explore the reflection of cultural and communication values in advertising. These content (analytic) studies, comparing the advertising of various countries, are sometimes descriptive and at other times placed within the debate in international advertising over whether advertising should be standardized or localized. Most, however, provide a priori or post hoc explanations for content establishing a link between culture, content, and indirectly the consumers. A brief review of these studies follows.

The debate on globalization begun in the 1960s, initially focused on and largely advocated standardized advertising (and marketing) in Europe (Dichter, 1962; Roostal, 1963). While middle of the road opinions were heard in the 1960s, it was the 1970s which heralded a more cautionary approach and suggested taking cultural and psychological differences between countries into consideration (Britt, 1974; Douglas and Dubois, 1977). Results of cross culturally comparative studies on consumers and consumer responses to advertising supported this approach (Green, Cunningham, and Cunningham, 1978; Hornik, 1980). A 1983 article by Levitt (1983) strongly endorsing standardization brought the debate back to the forefront in the academic literature and unleashed a wave of responses (Harris, 1984; Onkvisit and Shaw, 1987) and research in the '80s. Some of this research effort focused on the comparative content of advertising, the content being themes, techiniques, information and such.

One of the earliest studies (Marquez, 1979) of this kind found similarities in Philippine, Thai, and U.S. advertising. The author reflects that this is atypical and suggests that, before adopting standardization, practitioners must check indigenous cultures. Rice and Lu (1988) found that Chinese magazine ads had high levels of information as compared with American advertising, the comparison being based on findings from previous studies on American advertising.

Weinberger and Spotts (1989) found less humor in American than British advertising. Tse et al. (1989) found that Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan differed in the consumptive values such as technology , modernism, and hedonism that they used in their advertising.

Reid et al. (1985), using Simon's (1971) classification scheme for creative strategy, compared Clio winning domestic and international television commercials. They found only limited support for cross-cultural differences in creative strategies, possibly because the study grouped all international commercials together rather than by nation.

Madden, Caballero, and Matsukubo (1986) found Japanese advertisements to be more informative than American advertising. Another study (Hong, Muderrisoglu, and Zinkhan, 1987) found that Japanese advertising used more emotional and informational cues than American advertising. Mueller (1987) found that, while Japanese advertising used traditional appeals like soft sell, it also used modern and Westernized appeals. Ramaprasad and Hasegawa (1990) found that Japanese commercials used the emotional appeal more than the informational appeal.

This study's look at advertising content preferences is a distinct departure from the above ruling content studies and therefore pioneering to the best of the author's knowledge. By focusing on advertising content preferences of consumers, this study examines the culture, content, and consumer link directly rather than indirectly as the above studies did. This study's look at the relative importance of advertising, friends, family, and such on consumers' shopping choices, however, is within the boundaries of traditional consumer behavior research.

International Consumer Behavior Studies

As Mullen and Johnson (1990) report, models of consumer behavior have moved from the undifferentiated (based on marketing "folk wisdom") through the unilineal (Lavidge and Steiner, 1961) to the current cybernetic ones (Howard and Sheth, 1969). At each stage, these models have further differentiated existing variables or added new variables. In an effort to parsimoniously integrate these models, Mullen and Johnson (1990) formulated a general model of consumer behavior. While this model leaves out some of the complexity of consumer behavior, it is a useful starting point.

The model includes internal processes within a consumer (perception, emotion, and so on), triggered by a stimulus and resulting in behavior in the social context (Mullen and Johnson, 1990). The social context is "the totality of social stimulation that is influencing the individual" (p. 123) such as family, friends, sales personnel, advertising and such. This entire process is enveloped by the (increasingly important) cultural context which is the "totality of customs, arts, sciences...that distinguishes one society from another" (p. 138).

Several studies examine the influence of the cultural context on consumer behavior. This literature includes Thorelli et al.'s (1975) study of German and American "information seekers," Green and Langeard's (1975) study of French and US consumers, Douglas' (1976) study of French and US housewives, Anderson and Engledow's (1977) comparison of US and German information seekers, Aaker et al.'s (1982) comparison of two lifestyle studies on Japanese and American women, Boote's (1982) study of values differences among German, UK, and French consumers, and Green et al.'s (1982) study of family purchasing roles across the United States, France, Holland, Venezuela, and Gabon. These studies generally found differences in consumer behavior by culture. Unlike the above studies, this study is not comparative. It focuses on one country, Malaysia.

Malaysia

Malaysia received its independence from colonial rule in 1957 (Milne and Mauzy, 1986). Since then one of its major goals has been to create unity among its three major ethnic groups, the Malay (long time settlers), the Chinese, and the Indians (the latter two, immigrants as workers for tin mines and rubber plantations under British rule). These ethnic groups differ in appearance, language and religion as well as in areas of residence and occupation. In fact, Milne and Mauzy (1986) suggest that ethnic divisions are so strong that they preempt class divisions. At the same time, these groups subscribe to some common Malaysian values, such as humility, gentility, modesty, and indirect communication (Omar, 1985) which makes Malaysian culture stand apart from Western culture (Frith and Frith, 1989a). Also, Eastern cultures are generally considered to be more group than individual oriented (Kindel, 1986; Midooka, 1990).

The government's attempts to create unity among these groups include a language and cultural policy which accords primacy to one group, the Malay, but keeps a place for the others (Milne and Mauzy, 1986). The government's New Economic Policy (NEP) of the early 1970s seems to do likewise. Economically, Malaysia has grown more than most developing countries, but this growth has been imbalanced across ethnic groups. The NEP of the early 1970s attempts to create a Malay (formerly primarily peasants) commercial and industrial community at all levels. Advertising must reflect this NEP: "No particular race should be identified with a particular occupation or activity" (as cited in Burton, 1984, p. 27).

The policies which are most relevant to advertising, however, are the national Rukunegara ideology of the early 1970s (includes good behavior and morality) and the "Look East" (to Japan and South Korea) policy of 1982 to counter Western influence and promote values such as loyalty, selflessness, efficiency, thrift, trustworthiness, cleanliness, and discipline (Milne and Mauzy, 1986).

Malaysian advertising has had a history of dominance by western transnational agencies (Anderson, 1984). More recently though, the Malaysian government has required some restructuring of ownership (Burton, 1984) and has imposed control on advertising content because of its inconsistency with the Rukunegara ideology; "its mindless aping of bourgeois values and styles of the West" (Anderson, 1984, p. 219). The Radio Television Malaysia Code of Advertising (first issued on December 27, 1972) specifies that advertising should reflect Malaysian culture and values and have a Malaysian identity (Consumers' Association of Penang, 1986). It should also have a secondary message relating to discipline, cleanliness, etc. (Frith, 1989b; U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990). Such regulations, while irksome and constraining to practitioners (foreign agencies in particular), are inadequate according to the Consumer Association of Penang, a major critic of advertising as a promoter of (Westernized) consumer culture, egotism, individualism, and competition (Consumers' Association of Penang, 1986).

Malaysian cultural values along with the presence of a strong consumer association in Penang (where the data were collected) and government efforts to preserve Malaysian culture and deemphasize advertising may create an aversion to advertising as a source of information particularly as compared with family and friends. On the other hand, the western influence on advertising through the dominance of western advertising agencies in Southeast Asia (Frith, 1990) combined with the youth of the sample may create a more positive response to advertising as an information source. Also, despite the presence of shared values, the ethnic groups may differ in their responses to advertising. Males and females may differ similarly. Similarly, Malaysian culture, the consumer association, government imperatives, the western influence, the youth of the sample, may all also be factors which affect respondents' preferences regarding the content of television advertising. Hence the descriptive research questions for this study were:

1. What is the relative perceived influence of different factors in the Malaysian students' social environment (family, friends, advertising, etc.) on their shopping behavior? Do these preferences differ by age and ethnic group?

2. What are the preferences of Malaysian students with regard to television advertising content? Do these preferences differ by age and ethnic group?

Sheth (1979) pointed out that the inductive approach dominates a discipline in its infancy and growth stages. In view of the newness of cross cultural research in consumer behavior, this study is descriptive in nature.

Method

The method of study was survey; the design was cross-sectional. The data collection instrument was a questionnaire which was administered (in the tradition of many advertising and marketing studies) to a sample of students, this time at a Malaysian university in Penang. The youth market was of interest to this study because it has been "recognized as a specialized segment of the market for a variety of products and services and [these consumers' behavior] has received increasing attention among marketers" (Moschis and Moore, 1979). Students were used as an access population to study the youth in the present project. At the same time, it is recognized that this limits the generalizability of results.

The questionnaire, developed in English in the United States, was finalized after several iterations based on pretests. In Malaysia, it was translated into Bahasa Malay (the official national language) and back translated (by a different person) into English. After several other checks for adequacy of translation and cultural appropriateness, it was administered in March 1993 (in Bahasa Malay).

The questionnaire first measured demographic variables such as age, gender, ethnic group, year in college, place of residence, employment status, and income, using direct questions. Similar questions measured media use.

On a five point scale, the next question measured how influential five different sources of information--family and relatives, friends and roommates, colleagues and boss, advertising, and consumer information sources--were in the respondents' shopping behavior. Finally, a semantic differential, with a nine point scale, was used to measure television advertising content preferences. The pairs of bipolar adjectives were derived from a list of Eastern and Western communication values, some particularly as they relate to advertising, culled from the literature.

While changes are taking place in Asian cultures due to the global economy and the consumer culture it brings with it, this study adopts the framework of traditional relationships and communication values for Malaysia.

Description of Respondents

A total of 389 useable questionnaires was available. The mean age of the respondents was 25 years, the mode was 23. About 22% of the respondents did not indicate their gender (the question was positioned somewhat obscurely), 212 (55%) were female (probably an overrepresentation) and 92 (24%) were male. Altogether, 199 (51%) of the respondents were Malay, 131 (34%) were Chinese, 29 (8%) were Indian, and 9 (2%) belonged to other ethnic groups. The 1990 (latest available) Malaysian population breakdown was 48% Malay, 30% Chinese, 22% Indian, and .5% other (Department of Statistics, 1993). Indians were somewhat underrepresented in the sample.

A majority of the respondents (57%) were juniors; 21% were seniors, 11% were freshmen, and about 10% were sophomores. Most of the students either lived in dorms (55%) or in rented accomodations (39%); very few lived with parents (6%). Very few Malaysian students worked: 3% each worked full time and part time and 13% worked only in summer. The mean income of students who worked was US $905 per year; their mean disposable income from this source was $497 per year. The sample's mean disposable income from other sources was $467 per year.

The respondents' media use included a per day average of 1.8 hours for television, 3.9 hours for radio, 1.3 hours for newspapers, and .7 hours for magazines. Mean media use was 7 hours per day.

Demographic and Media Use Differences by Ethnic Group and Gender

The distribution of respondents for demographic and media variables, by gender and ethnic group, is given in Tables 1a and 1b. Since gender had many missing values, for variables other than year in college and age which are presented for descriptive reasons (Table 1a), separate statistical analyses were done for ethnic group and gender (Table 1b). For each variable, while the distribution of students by ethnic group and gender is presented side by side in the tables, the numbers for ethnic group and gender should be read independently of each other.

Malay and Indian students mostly lived in dorms, while Chinese students mostly rented accomodations (Table 1b). Female students rented more than did male students who stayed more in dorms. Since so few students worked, analysis of employment status by ethnic group was impossible. A larger proportion of males than females worked.

There was a significant difference in income (between Malays and Chinese, with the Malays having a higher income) but not in disposable income from work and other sources by ethnic group. There was no difference in all three incomes by gender.

Differences were not found for newspaper use by ethnic group. The groups, however, did differ in television, radio, magazine and total media use. Malays used more TV and magazines than did the Chinese and more radio than did both the Chinese and Indians. Altogether, Malays used more (total) media than the Chinese. Malays were therefore the largest and the Chinese the smallest users of media. Radio use differed by gender, with females listening more than males.

Sources of Information

For the sample as a whole, family and relatives were the most important information source, followed by friends and roommates (Table 2a). Advertising and consumer information sources came next in order, with colleagues being the least influential sources. Also, colleagues were the only source of information rated below the mean of 3; the other four sources were all considered to have more than average influence. The importance of family and friends in a group oriented, hierarchical society such as Malaysia's is not surprising. Also, the fact that advertising and consumer information sources ranked almost identically points to the consciousness among Malaysian consumers of assessing products independently of advertising claims. Hence advertising appears to play a relatively influential role in the respondents' shopping decisions but it is balanced with other information and superceded by the interpersonal sources of family and friends.

Interestingly however for the influence of family/relatives and of friends/roommates, there were differences by gender (Table 2a). Females scored these sources of information significantly higher than did males. By ethnic group, the only difference was between the Malay and Chinese students for the information source family/relatives, with the Chinese students rating them higher (Table 2b).

Advertising Content Preferences

Of the 16 communication values used as bipolar adjectives in the semantic differential, only three received a preference score of less than the average (5 on a 9-point scale); the other 13 were all above 5 indicating a preference for more Western style advertising (Table 3a). The highest score (7.02) was for the specific/vague pair, followed by the give information/create emotion (6.85), the give/not give product features (6.85), and the explicit/implicit pairs (6.67). Respondents wanted advertising to provide very specific information about the products. The pairs which followed in terms of the scores they received also indicate the same. Give brand name upfront versus at end

(6.35), direct versus indirect (6.3), rational versus emotional (6.29), and objective versus subjective (6.11) came next in order, all scoring above 6 and indicating a preference for very direct, upfront, objective advertising that appealed to reason.

Still above the midpoint of 5, but below the score of 6, were the pairs factual/symbolic (5.84), informal/formal (5.43), loud/quiet (5.24), overstated/understated (5.19), and verbally appealing/visually appealing (5.16). While the scores on these pairs are still on the side of Western values, they form a group different from the one above, in that they all deal more with the tone rather than the content. Hence preferences in terms of content were more Western than preferences in terms of tone.

Pairs which scored below 5 were repeat brand name a lot/few times (4.91), use individual/group appeals (4.68), and use imperative/polite language (2.88). These were the only communication values for which the Malaysian students' preferences leaned towards Eastern rather than Western values. The strongest leaning was in the case of use of language: polite language rather than imperatives in advertising was very important to these students.

Gender differences were found for the values objective/subjective and specific/vague, with females preferring more subjective but more specific content than males (Table 3a). Differences by ethnicity were found for give product features/not give product features, and use verbal/visual appeals, with the Chinese wanting more product features than the Malays, and the Malays wanting more verbal appeals than Indians (Table 3b).

Conclusions

The findings were quite contrary to the perspective of traditional relationship and communication values for Malaysian students adopted by this study. While the students considered family and friends important sources of information for shopping choices, advertising and consumer information sources were also important. The students appear to strike some kind of balance in using many possible sources of information, most interesting of which is the balance between advertising and consumer information sources. This could be due to the presence of a very strong consumer association in Penang where the data were collected; this Consumers'

Association of Penang is very active in its attempts to educate Malaysians about advertising's deceptions and manipulations. Still the only small difference in scores for family/friends and advertising/consumer information sources and particularly between advertising and consumer information sources is important in that it might be indicative of a greater acceptance of advertising than anticipated given the cultural, governmental, religious and social norms of Malaysia.

The truly surprising findings however were the ones related to advertising content preferences. Generally, Malaysian students' preferences were more in line with Western communication values than Asian ones. They wanted advertising to be direct and specific, have information on product and brand name, be objective and use a rational appeal. In tone they wanted advertising to be factual and somewhat loud and overstated. These are characteristics of advertising found in the West, mostly in the United States. It is possible that the activities of the consumer association, which try to develop a critical ability in consumers with regard to advertising, have also led consumers to believe that it is direct, factual advertising which is less likely to be deceptive, and this in turn has created in them a preference for such advertising. There is another explanation too.

Since Western and particularly American advertising agencies are the ones with a foothold in many Asian countries, their brand of advertising might be becoming more and more acceptable. Foreign influence therefore cannot be ruled out as a possible explanation for the findings of this study. As Frith (1990) says "Advertisements need not be imported from the West to express Western cultural values. The staffs of multinational agencies tend to be foreign-trained and expatriate-managed: thus the generative cultural values in multinational advertising are uniformly Western. Indigenous culture tends to be a largely unknown quantity to the expatriate, and tends to be abandoned as old-fashioned by the local recruit bent on adopting the values of Western management" (p. 3).

The youth of the market is a critical factor here. The advent of consumerism in many Asian cultures with the globalization of economies meets with far less resistance (in fact, may be even with acceptance) from the young. Hence the results are not generalizable to other population groups.

As far as the tone of the ads was concerned, the Malaysian youth were not as Western in their preferences as they were for the content. Where they were strikingly on the side of preferring Malaysian communication values was with regard to the use of language; they believed advertising should be polite not commanding or urge to action oriented as much of Western advertising is. They also preferred the use of group appeals to individual appeals.

Malaysian youth appear to be undergoing a transition, adopting more Western style communication values at least for advertising and granting a larger role for advertising and other non family and friends related information sources. In the international advertising debate, the need to recognize indigenous relationship and communication values has been pointed out. While this is still very important, the need to recognize that the youth in many countries are becoming more Western in their orientation is equally important. Western advertising strategies and tactics which do not work with older consumers are more likely to be successful with the younger ones. Agencies need to be cognizant of these changes as they continue to pursue business in the newly strong economies of the East.

Table 1a
Distribution of Respondents by Year in College and Mean Age, by Ethnic Group and Gender

Yr in College	Malay		Chinese		Indian	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Freshman	9(17)[a]	7(6)	1(5)	8(10)	0	1(8)
Sophomore	6(11)	6(5)	5(26)	6(8)	0	3(21)
Junior	33(61)	86(78)	6(32)	41(53)	5(63)	7(50)
Senior	6(11)	12(11)	7(37)	22(29)	3(38)	3(21)
Total	54(19)	111(39)	19(7)	77(27)	8(3)	14(5)

[a] %.

Mean Age	27 (n=55)	23 (n=112)	27 (n=19)	24 (n=75)	27 (n=8)	24 (n=14)

Table 1b

Distribution of Respondents by Residence, Employment, Mean Income, and Mean Media Use, by Ethnic Group and Gender Separately

	Ethnic Group			Gender	
Residence[a]	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Male	Female
Dorm	126	50	15	62	103
	(64)[b]	(38)	(54)	(68)	(49)
W/ Parents	5	13	4	9	8
	(3)	(10)	(14)	(10)	(4)
Rent	67	68	9	20	101
	(34)	(52)	(32)	(22)	(48)
Total	198	131	26	91	212
	(56)	(37)	(7)	(30)	(70)

[a]Other=1. [b]%. x^2=26.7, p.=.00 by ethnic group; x^2=19.21, p.=.00 by gender.

Employment	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Male	Female
Full Time	6	0	2	6	2
	(3)	(0)	(7)	(7)	(1)
Part T/Sum	15	35	3	18	20
	(8)	(28)	(11)	(21)	(10)
No	163	92	22	61	180
	(89)	(72)	(82)	(72)	(89)
Total	184	127	27	85	201
	(55)	(38)	(8)	(30)	(70)

x^2=15.82, p.=.00 by gender.

	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Male	Female
Income[c]	1775	340	702	797	268
	(n=17)	(n=27)	(n=4)	(n=20)	(n=11)

F=4.327, p.=.02 for ethnic group.

	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Male	Female
Disp Inc[c]	946	157	478	273	128
	(n=17)	(n=27)	(n=4)	(n=20)	(n=11)
Disp Inc[c/d]	421	518	455	507	458
	(n=142)	(n=100)	(n=25)	(n=70)	(n=156)

[c]Mean US$/yr.
[d]Other sources.

Table 1b: Continued

	Ethnic Group			Gender	
	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Male	Female
Media Use[e]					
Television	1.9 (n=197)	1.5 (n=131)	1.5 (n=29)	1.9 (n=92)	1.7 (n=209)

F=3.7; p.=.02 for ethnic group.

Radio	5.2 (n=179)	2.3 (n=131)	3.2 (n=28)	3.2 (n=90)	4.3 (n=193)

F=28.53; p.=.00 for ethnic group; F=6.6, p.=.01 for gender.

Newspaper	1.3 (n=193)	1.3 (n=128)	1.5 (n=28)	1.4 (n=91)	1.2 (n=206)
Magazines	.8 (n=194)	.5 (n=131)	.7 (n=28)	.7 (n=92)	.7 (n=206)

F=4.0, p.=.02 for ethnic group.

Tot Med Use	8.1 (n=159)	5.1 (n=126)	6.5 (n=27)	6.8 (n=87)	6.9 (n=174)

F=25.69, p.=.00 for ethnic group.

[e] Mean hrs/day.

Table 2a
Mean Influence of Information Sources on Malaysian Students' Shopping Decisions by Gender*

Information Source	Female	Male	Total
Family/Relatives F = 5.62; p. = .02.	3.51	3.21	3.42
Friends/Roommates F = 7.19; p. = .01.	3.43	3.11	3.33
Advertising	3.13	3.28	3.17
Consumer Information Sources	3.13	3.16	3.14
Colleagues/Boss	2.61	2.86	2.70

*Higher scores indicate more influence.

Table 2b
Mean Influence of Information Sources on Malaysia Students' Shopping Decisions by Ethnic Group*

Information Source	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Total
Family/Relatives F = 3.55; p. = .03. Significant difference between Malay and Chinese students.	3.31	3.60	3.29	3.41
Friends/Roommates	3.36	3.34	3.10	3.33
Advertising	3.23	3.17	3.21	3.20
Consumer Information Sources	3.21	3.13	3.17	3.18
Colleagues/Boss	2.66	2.71	2.69	2.68

NOTE: Numbers differ between Tables 2a and 2b because of different missing values for gender and ethnic group. Ranks of the information sources however do not change.

Table 3a: Mean Content Preferences for Television Advertising Among Malaysian Students by Gender*

Content	Female	Male	Total
Use imperative language/Use polite language**	2.82	3.03	2.88
Use individualistic appeals/Use group appeals	4.60	4.87	4.68
Repeat brand name at lot/Only a few times	4.75	5.30	4.91
Verbally appealing/Visually appealing	5.17	5.15	5.16
Overstated/Understated	5.07	5.47	5.19
Loud/Quiet	5.22	5.30	5.24
Informal/Formal	5.48	5.31	5.43
Factual/Symbolic	5.81	5.89	5.84
Objective/Subjective F = 8.37; p. = .00.	5.85	6.75	6.11
Rational/Emotional	6.35	6.16	6.29
Direct/Indirect	6.44	5.96	6.30
Give brand name upfront/Give brand at end	6.35	6.37	6.35
Explicit/Implicit	6.64	6.73	6.67
Give product features/Not give features	6.97	6.55	6.85
Give information/Create emotion	6.89	6.77	6.85
Specific/Vague F = 5.03; p. = .03.	7.20	6.58	7.02

*Higher scores indicate a preference for Western style advertising.
**The first adjective indicates more Western style advertising content.

Table 3b
Mean Content Preferences for Television Advertising Among Malaysian Students by Ethnic Group*

Content	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Total
Use imperative language/Use polite language	3.12	2.66	2.93	2.93
Use individualistic appeals/Use group appeals	4.75	4.70	4.64	4.72
Repeat brand name a lot/Only a few times	5.14	4.70	4.83	4.95
Verbally appealing/Visually appealing F = 5.05; p. = .01. Significant difference between Malay & Indian, and Chinese & Indian students.	5.17	4.95	3.96	4.99
Overstated/Understated	5.3	4.85	5.00	5.13
Loud/Quiet	5.4	4.98	5.2	5.24
Informal/Formal	5.06	5.61	5.28	5.28
Factual/Symbolic	5.9	5.69	5.59	5.8
Objective/Subjective	6.02	6.18	6.5	6.12
Direct/Indirect	6.29	6.46	5.04	6.33
Give brandname upfront/Give brand at end	6.34	6.34	6.52	6.36
Rational/Emotional	6.25	6.38	7.17	6.37
Explicit/Implicit	6.42	6.82	6.43	6.57
Give information/Create emotion	6.67	7.09	6.17	6.78
Give product features/Not give features F = 4.71; p. = .01. Significant difference between Malay and Chinese students.	6.45	7.29	6.86	6.79
Specific/Vague	6.74	7.3	6.76	6.95

*Higher scores indicate a preference for Western style advertising.
**The first adjective indicates more Western style advertising content.
NOTE: Numbers differ between Tables 3a and 3b because of different missing values for gender and ethnic group. Ranks of the pairs change only very slightly.

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A Survey of Faculty Evaluation Practices in Journalism and Mass Communication

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Abstract

Although it was presumed that most schools formally and systematically evaluate faculty for purposes of salary, tenure and promotion, the literature revealed little current evidence regarding the extent or nature of the faculty evaluation process. A lengthy survey questionnaire was mailed to members of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication to learn about faculty evaluation practices. This paper reviews a portion of the survey results.

Discussed is the evolution of faculty evaluation, and the genesis of the survey. Survey results suggest that despite unique and diverse course formats, journalism and mass communication programs fit the national pattern. Formal classroom evaluation is widely practiced; the preferred method is student evaluation; and rating instruments are the methodologies of choice.

INTRODUCTION

There was a time when faculty evaluation was conducted informally and unsystematically--a period when the criterion of teacher effectiveness was objective and direct. Those were the days when Socrates could be seen talking in the marketplace to whoever would stop to listen. Those were the times when Aristotle walked in the Lyceum Gardens and gathered around him anyone who wished to engage in dialogue. The origins of student rating of faculty members can be traced to this era when to be an effective teacher was to be a person who attracted students (Travers, 1981).

By the Middle Ages, the ability to attract students as a criterion of effectiveness took on an additional dimension--a remunerative measure of a teacher's worth. In addition to attracting students, the professor had to be able to extract fees from those students who were being taught. The University of Paris, founded in the 10th century, required professors to generate their own source of income through fees paid directly by the students. To survive, a professor would have to receive an adequate evaluation in the form of coins pressed into an outstretched palm (or dropped into the mortarboard held in the hand) as the students filed out of the classroom at the end of a lecture (Travers, 1981). At the University of Padua in Italy, students even hired and fired their own teachers (Seldin, 1980).

BACKGROUND

In modern times the evaluation of faculty performance has become less direct and much more complex. When school attendance became law, the idea of educational effectiveness became a public issue (Travers, 1981). In America, the system of education is generally regarded as a "mass" approach with open access. It is interesting to note that this "mass" perspective of education parallels the mass consumption characterization of the public by marketing practitioners. In the early 1930s, business began to study "these masses" by conducting marketing research surveys that utilized consumer questionnaires. Although student evaluation was officially born at Harvard in 1924 (Seldon, 1980), the 1930s is cited as the period that inaugurated the use of similar survey questionnaires to evaluate faculty. In both marketing and educational contexts, this "mass" perspective has raised issues and spawned debate as part of the momentum of the accountability movement. The modern use of student evaluation is an outgrowth of the accountability movement of the 1960s and 1970s, a period in which teacher performance was examined as a measurable element of modern education. As Robert Lovett said in 1970, "accountability is defined as the right to insure a good education and to sever from the school system those who do not contribute to that end. In a very true sense, the teacher is first accountable to his pupils (Lovett, 1970 p. 130)".

The problem is that in modern times there is a very diverse profile of educational institutions. Colleges and universities differ greatly in quality, character, purpose, size, complexity, and economic stability. The role of the professor in the educational process varies, and the job description of teaching is elusive and value-laden. Establishment of performance criteria and techniques for evaluation of faculty performance has become commensurately elusive. Therefore, throughout the evolving history of behavior evaluation, students, faculty and administrators have all claimed at one time or another that criteria are both reliable, valid, useful and unreliable, or invalid and useless (Aleamoni, 1981).

Despite the debate, the popularity of faculty performance evaluation gained momentum as America entered the turbulent sixties. Then, students began to reject autocratic administrators and put pressure on leaders for greater involvement in educational institution policies and activities that pertained to them. Students asked, and demanded, that administrations give them greater voice in the instruction they were experiencing (Seldin, 1980). Evaluation of faculty gave students the voice they were seeking.

The 1960s also defined a period when college enrollment was in a rapid expansion mode and many institutions had been largely concerned with recruiting and retaining faculty members. Tenure and promotion were almost automatic, and most institutions had long gotten by with poorly defined evaluation procedures (Centra, 1979). Eventually, enrollments began to taper off, and institutions of higher education no longer needed to add faculty and staff members. Institution budgets became tight, and many were at or near their prescribed limits in the percentage of faculty on tenure. Nationwide, 62 percent had tenure in 1977 (AAUP, 1978 in Centra, 1979). Teachers began having to prove that they deserved tenure. This forced institutions to make fine distinctions among generally competent instructors. Evaluation systems helped administrators to make these "distinctions."

The confluence of student demands for greater involvement in administrative and instructional decisions, a historically loose tenure and promotion policy, and new challenges pertaining to the business of running institutions that were beginning to emerge in the 1970s resulted in a very hurried movement by institutions to embrace a wide variety of new procedures for evaluating instructional performance. From about 1976, education standards and costs have been continuously and increasingly under scrunity. Institutions of higher education like other non-profit making organizations, have been increasingly asked to justify their activities and to account for their use of resources, as well as their performance, to external funding bodies such as state legislatures (Sizer, 1979). The case for development of some type of performance indicator (PI's) has been building up and gaining momentum throughout the 1980s.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the aftermath of the numerous educational reform studies of the early and mid-1980s, educators and policy makers across the United States established procedures for assessing and refining educational programs. By 1990, educators in 41 states were required to evaluate teachers. Of those states, educators in 34 were required to do so because of state legislation, 30 because of state department of education policy, and 5 because of litigation. Of 41 states, 24 "mandated that specific evaluative procedures and/or forms be used, 7 "suggested" specific procedures, and 10 neither required nor suggested specific procedures and forms" (Valentine, 1992).

Pressure on administrations in regard to the design, and implementation of instruction now comes from students, parents, and legislators. Students are much less timid in expressing dissatisfaction than in previous times, and many parents express uncertainty that the effectiveness of instruction warrants the high costs of a college education. Since higher education is a labor-intensive industry with 70 to 80 percent of typical budgets going for salaries (Seldin, 1980), it has been natural for institutions to look at instructional staffs as fertile areas to reduce costs. Granting tenure, for example, can have serious financial implications. It can commit an institution to a salary that can be cumulatively substantial over a 30-year period. So, for economic reasons alone, standards for tenure have become more rigorous. It isn't surprising that a diminishing number of professors are selected for promotion and tenure.

In considering a professor for promotion in rank, tenure, or retention, there is a wide variety of procedures and factors that an institution can select and utilize. Scholarly research and publication, creative activities, service, peer reviews, classroom visitations by administrators, teacher self-assessments, testing, and learning outcomes are examples of potential criteria for the evaluation of faculty. However, without reverting to the methods of the Middle Ages, the harvesting of student "opinion" about a professor is theoretically limited to exit interviews, suggestion boxes, small discussion groups, questionnaires to alumni, outcomes assessment techniques, face-to-face discussions, student testimonials and "consumer" questionnaires. In reality, a written questionnaire or rating scale appears to serve as the predominant method of gaining information about professors. In a 1983 survey that went to 770 academic deans listed in the U.S. Department of Education's "Directory", all listed as accredited, four-year, undergraduate, liberal arts colleges, classroom teaching was regarded, of 13 criteria, as the most important index of overall faculty performance with the frequency of use reported as 98.7 percent. Of the 13 sources of information for faculty evaluation enumerated in the study, 67.5 percent of deans surveyed stated that they always used student rating information. This compares to 54.8 percent of all of the deans who were studied in 1978 (Seldin in Gabbin, 1990).

It is apparent that both administrators and faculty committees are relying on student ratings to help shape their judgements about faculty performance. Today, the use of student evaluations of faculty may be by far the most common method of rating the effectiveness of instruction (Wright et al in Gabbin, 1990), with classroom visits by peers a distant second (Miller, 1987). The technique developed by market researchers in the U.S.A. in the 1930s, the survey questionnaire, appears to be the most favored of all methods of obtaining student judgements about their courses (Winter Hebron, 1984).

RESEARCH PROBLEM

The evidence is compelling that administrative judgements concerning faculty tenure, promotion, and retention rely heavily, if not exclusively, upon some type of feedback regarding teacher performance in the classroom. It has been reported that when evaluating faculty for promotion and tenure, classroom teaching is a more important factor than publication, research, service or any other criteria. Although there are a number of methods of gauging teacher performance, student evaluation is generally agreed to have the most influence on administrative decisions concerning a professor's future (Miller, 1987). In this context, it appears that rating instruments are increasingly becoming the evaluative method of favor for both formative (i. e. for the purpose of professional improvement) and summative (i. e. for purpose of employment judgements) decisions about instructional effectiveness (Aleamoni, 1990). However, the literature yields very little current empirical data concerning the extent of the use of student rating systems.

Earlier it was stated that the American higher education system is really a "non-system" consisting of an open patchwork of institutions with a variety of missions. Within the framework of higher education, journalism and mass communications programs generally present an eclectic course of studies that epitomize the idea of diversity. Approaches in academic philosophy within the mass communications classroom run the gamut from the theoretical to the hands-on. Classroom formats represent a range of possibilities. It is likely that student evaluation of faculty systems and procedures might vary to the same extent as the diverse approach to curriculum design and content that is inherent in the subject matter of journalism and mass communications courses. It would therefore not be surprising to learn that such programs of study walk to a unusual drumbeat regarding faculty evaluation.

There is no evidence that programs in journalism and mass communication have embraced faculty evaluation systems to the extent that has been attributed to other disciplines. Therefore, this study was designed in part to determine how many faculty in the membership of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) participate in feedback in the form of systematic student evaluation of faculty. For the reasons previously cited it would be presumptuous to assume that journalism and mass communications programs have followed the national trend.

Empirical insight was also sought concerning evaluation methodologies at the undergraduate level, how often evaluation measures are taken, and how the instruments when used are administered.

It is important to stress that this report and discussion address a small part of the findings of a lengthy questionnaire. However, it is believed that the questions focused upon are foundational to gaining further understanding about faculty evaluation practices in journalism and mass communication education. It is hoped that this paper will help to frame future efforts to illuminate a topic that should be of concern to administrators, faculty and students.

METHODOLOGY

A survey questionnaire was sent to faculty members of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. As an organization, the AEJMC has 16 divisions that represent subject matter in all of the relevant disciplines. A cover letter introducing the research investigators and the general purpose of the survey was sent to AEJMC members in each of the divisions. As a result, schools in every state and several foreign countries were represented in the survey. More than one response was received from each state with the greatest representation from Texas, California, Wisconsin, and Florida.

The survey instrument was lengthy, consisting of 60 questions; however, the survey questions were straight forward requiring a simple yes/no response. Although the entire questionnaire addressed the subject of evaluation of faculty by students, this particular report extracts only those particular questions that provide a quantitative picture concerning the numbers of faculty that are involved in some form of systematic evaluation by students as well as the nature of the instruments and methodology used.

The survey questionnaire was sent to a total of 2,811 current members of AEJMC. Each mailing included a pre-addressed stamped return envelope with a request to respond to the survey by April 29, 1994. It was presumed that a 30-day-plus turnaround for responders to the mailing would be adequate. The total number of usable responses to the survey questionnaire was 961 out of 2,811, for a return rate of 34.19%.

Of those who responded to the survey, 66% were male and 38% had taught for fifteen years or more. Over half of the survey respondents had been at their respective institutions for at least seven years. Approximately one half of the participants were over the age of 46. Fifty four percent reported that they are tenured professors.

SURVEY RESULTS

More than 90 percent of the AEJMC survey respondents stated that they currently participate in a formal system of faculty classroom performance evaluation at the undergraduate level. In practically all of the cases (95%) a rating instrument is used and the most popular format is a questionnaire. Fifty seven percent of the respondents agreed that the measurement instrument used could be "most clearly" described as a semantic differential type instrument. However, in more than 86% of the cases, open-ended responses to questions were provided for. A very small percentage of survey participants suggested that a measurement instrument different than a questionnaire or a semantic differential format was used.

Table 1: Response Frequency to Selected Survey Questions

Primary Questions

	Yes Frequency	Yes Percent	No Frequency	No Percent
Percent				
Does your institution currently use a formal system of faculty 12 classroom performance evaluation at the undergraduate level?	782	88	108	12
Does your department (college or school) participate in a formal system of faculty classroom performance evaluation at the undergraduate level?	801	90	88	10
Does the formal faculty evaluation system that you use include the use of some type of rating instrument?	796	95	40	5
If a rating instrument is used, could it most clearly be described as semantic differential type instrument?	437	57	324	43
If a rating instrument is used, could it most clearly be described as a survey or questionnaire?	673	83	134	17
Are there open ended responses to atleast part of your instrument?	716	86	115	14

Nearly all of the classroom evaluations were student generated, although it is apparent that some faculty also participate in peer evaluations and observation by the department chair. Approximately 14% of the faculty members responding to the survey indicated that they are observed by the department chair. Twenty percent also suggest that they are peer evaluated. The data do not enable a determination of which faculty only use one of the methods and which participate in more than one, or all three of the procedures. A small percent of the respondents said they did not participate in any of the three types of evaluation specifically cited in the questions (student, peer, chair evaluations), yet when asked to give examples of different types of classroom evaluation, no examples were forthcoming.

In nearly all cases the faculty evaluation procedure is implemented in the classroom setting and student responses are collected at the time of administration. In other words, the instrument does not appear to be of the take-home variety. Implementation of the evaluation procedure occurred within 2-4 weeks of the end of the academic session in over 90 percent of all situations. AEJMC members were split in terms of when during the class session the evaluation procedure was implemented. About one half of the faculty state that implementation of the evaluation process occurred at the beginning of the class session. The other half state that the procedure began toward the end of a classroom session.

Interesting were the responses to a series of questions concerning who is actually responsible for implementing the evaluation procedure during the classroom session. All of the responses were predominantly "no" to each query that was intended to yield specific information as to the identity of the administrator. Eighty-two percent of the faculty stated that it was not "me" who implemented the evaluation procedure, 95% stated that it was not the department chair, 87 percent said that it was not a peer member of the faculty, 85% agreed that it was not an administrator such as a secretary, and 65% said that it was not a student assigned to the department (graduate assistant, work-study student). One can only infer that the evaluation administrator may be the percentage differential indicated. For example, looking at the latter percentage of 65% of the respondents who stated that it was not a student assigned to the department who administrated the evaluation process, it can be inferred that 45% of the evaluations were administered by a graduate assistant or work-study student.

DISCUSSION

This study confirms the common perception that evaluation of journalism and mass communications faculty is almost universal in American colleges and universities, and that the evaluators are overwhelmingly the students in the college classroom. The nationwide patterns outlined in this study are indicators of evaluation trends that will continue in institutions of higher learning into the next century. Perhaps the instruments that are used to measure performance and provide feedback to faculty and administration will provide objective insights that everyone can be comfortable with by that time. For those who would argue with the appropriateness of this evolutionary evaluation process, there appears to be a viable response.

While peers may have a better grasp of the level of knowledge the instructor possesses, and supervisors might understand best the protocol of the classroom environment, the student is the only person who has daily contact with the instructor and it is the student who may be best suited to evaluate the totality of the learning experience. No evaluation system is without shortcomings, but student evaluation of faculty is more in tune with allowing market forces to determine product success. In a sense, the evaluation process supports the marketing concept that the consumer is king and that consumer feedback is important.

The problem with faculty evaluation may not lie with the overall practice of evaluation, but rather with the ultimate design, procedures, and uses. Four years ago, a study at New Mexico State University revealed at least 21 different evaluation questionnaires being used at the same time. The College of Arts and Sciences allowed each department to use a different teaching evaluation form, but still apportioned salary increase monies in accord with a ranking based on research, teaching, and service. To compare a department using a form of six questions, all on a four-point scale, with a department using a 12 question instrument employing a 7-point scale is just not very good science, yet such unequal faculty evaluation comparisons are still commonly used among university departments whose survey standards as utilized for other academic research projects are rigorously controlled to minimize errors.

The argument over validity of student evaluation of faculty is obviated by the concern over the reliability of the instruments being used. This means that it is unnecessary to have a nationwide standard evaluation instrument but that it is important for universities, or colleges within universities, to use carefully constructed evaluation instruments for the purpose of comparison of faculty members. And if the current survey shows the dominance of the numerical scale question over the open-ended question, it suggests that more attention be paid to the scales being used and to what the evaluators mean by the answers they give to the questions.

Since faculty evaluations by students are now a widespread and permanent fixture of higher education, the next step appears to be consideration of the quality of the process, the instruments used, and ultimate interpretation by administrators.

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The Application of Multidimensional Scaling to Advertising Education Programs

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a perceptual map of 15 advertising programs as evaluated by academics in order to understand the dynamics of the advertising education market beyond simple ranking reports. The map shows the perceived similarity between the schools and their relative evaluation of quality. The interpretation of the map reveals that schools are grouped into six clusters which are ordered by perception of prestige and educational philosophy. Applications and implications for advertising education are provided.

INTRODUCTION

The trend toward more integrated communication strategies on the part of agencies and clients has influenced both professional practice and advertising education. Today's marketing strategies are an integration of advertising, public relations, direct marketing and promotion. These changes are affecting the way advertising departments are preparing advertising majors. Within the last three years, many advertising programs at major universities around the country, with commitments to both the business community and the academic establishment, have reevaluated their course curricula to accommodate the current integrated marketing communication milieu (Medill 1993, University of Colorado 1993).

Given these changes in advertising education, there is a need for a clear understanding of the structure of the advertising education market. Little reform can be made if the current nature of the advertising education market is unclear. It is within this changing face of advertising education that the purpose of this paper was conceived.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Any credible review of advertising education literature must begin with the prolific work of Billy Ross who has conducted extensive research on the *objective* dimensions of advertising education. Dr. Ross has used these data to rank schools by number of students, number of graduates, quantity of published research, and faculty/student ratios (Ross 1991, 1964-1994, 1965). *Where Shall I Go to College to Study Advertising* and other related publications by Dr. Ross offer clear summaries of objective data but lack an evaluation of the subjective dimensions of the schools. In fact, very little research has been conducted on advertising program *rankings* based on *subjective* attributes.

Only three studies (Watson 1989, Keenan 1991, Stout and Richards 1993) have ranked schools based on the perceptions or the *subjective* evaluations of survey respondents. In 1989, two ranking studies of the top-rated advertising doctoral programs were published by Kittie Watson in the *Association for Communication Administration Bulletin*. One survey reported the results of a survey administered to 300 members of the Association for Communication Administration. The other study reported the results of a survey administered to 297 member of the Broadcast Education Association (Watson 1989).

In 1991, Kevin Keenan of the University of Maryland, College of Journalism surveyed academics regarding their school perceptions. He asked "Which three schools other than your own do you consider the very best undergraduate program in advertising?" Most recently in 1993, Patricia Stout and Jef Richards, both of the University of Texas, asked advertising practitioners to rank the top advertising graduate programs.

Taylor and Morrison (1994) proposed a visual model of advertising education that analyzed advertising programs beyond ranking reports. A theory versus practice continuum formed the horizontal line and a journalism versus business continuum formed the vertical line. The two scales together make a four quadrant grid representing an advertising framework called the Advertising Education Model. Although illuminating, their research was a theoretical piece without research data.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Advertising education ranking reports as summarized above, provide a list of the "top of mind" schools in advertising education and a general idea how they compare to each other. While this simple ranking method may be the easiest way to collect school data, two questions remain unanswered:

1. Beyond numerical rankings, how are advertising programs positioned relative to each other?
2. Why are the schools positioned they way they are? That is, what are the dimensions or attributes that are used to make these evaluations?

The goal of this paper is to answer these two questions by placing the schools on a perceptual map and analyzing the location of each school. Like traditional school rankings, the evaluation of the schools in a perceptual map are based on the perceptions of the survey respondents. Unlike the ranking reports, the perceptual map offers a rich visual representation of the nature of the overall education market.

Perceptual maps are a borrowed concept from the product positioning literature within the marketing discipline. Perceptual maps show how a product's image is positioned in the market relative to the competition. These visual diagrams are generated via multidimensional scaling (MDS). The idea of perceptual mapping is not new, but the application of this concept to advertising education is original.

METHOD

A questionnaire was used to collect input data for the perceptual map developed in this study. Survey data used for multidimensional scaling can be collected using several different formats. These approaches differ in the assumptions they employ, the perspectives taken, and input data used. The following discussion traces the data collection decisions made in this paper.

Nonattribute data versus attribute data. One of the first decisions in MDS is whether to collect attribute or nonattribute data. Attribute data are the specific dimensions used to evaluate schools. Nonattribute data are measures which reflect the perceived degree of similarity or preference of schools in the eyes of the respondents. Nonattribute data (similarity or preference data) were collected because the attributes used to evaluate programs are not known. In fact, one of the goals of this research is to identify the attributes that define an advertising program.

Preference data versus similarity data. The second decision is whether to ask respondents to evaluate schools in terms of similarity or preference. Preference measures are gathered by asking respondents to rank schools by personal preference. Similarity measures (proximity data) are gathered by asking respondents to rate perceived degree of similarity between schools.

Similarity data were collected, rather than preference data, for two reasons:

1) Preference data would simply recreate a rank ordering of school which has already been conducted in previous research (Watson 1989, Keenan 1991, Stout and Richards 1993). By contrast, no research has been done on the *degree of similarity* between schools. 2) Preference data increase the possibility of a response bias. Survey respondents might be partial to their school and rank it higher on the preference list.

Evaluation Set. Ideally, all schools offering degrees in advertising would be plotted on the map for a perfect representation of the advertising education market. Given the limitation of this approach, the goal was to select the maximum number of schools that could be reasonably evaluated in a questionnaire. Fifteen schools, which translates into 105 individual pairwise comparisons (15 (15-1) / 2) seemed to be the maximum number of combinations a respondent could reasonably evaluate.

The 15 schools used in the stimulus set were selected based on a composite analysis of 9 different ranking reports published over the last ten years. The goal of the selection process was to use a variety of ranking reports to identify the 15 schools that accurately represented the advertising education market. Seven of the rankings listed the schools by objective attributes such as undergraduate enrollment, graduate enrollment, number of faculty, and publishing records (Ross 1991, Barry 1990, Soley 1988, Rotzoll 1984). The remaining two rankings were subjective opinion polls listing the "best" advertising programs as perceived by academicians and practitioners (Keenan 1991, Stout and Richards 1993). The schools used as the stimulus set were the 15 schools with the most appearances on these rankings.

Sampled Set. The questionnaire was sent to the chair of the advertising department, program, area, etc. from the same 15 universities included in the evaluation set. It was assumed that this person would be the most knowledgeable about their own school relative to other competing schools. In addition, chairs generally have been in academia for several years and have acquired knowledge about other programs. Finally, because respondents would have a vested interest in the results of the research, they would be more likely to respond to the survey.

Questionnaire. The 105 pairwise comparisons were the first items on the questionnaire. The respondent was not told what criteria to determine similarity. The final section of the questionnaire asked respondents about their education, teaching and research backgrounds.

Procedure. The questionnaire was pretested with advertising faculty at the researchers' university. Layout and presentation changes were made based on the pretest evaluation. The 2-page self-administered questionnaire, cover letter and stamped, pre-addressed envelope were sent via US mail on March 15, 1994. A second mailing was sent on April 21. At the end of the data collection process, 13 out of the total 15 questionnaires were returned. Out of the returned 13 questionnaires, only 11 contained usable data. The final response rate was 73% or 11 surveys.

The MDS analysis was conducted using the ALSCAL (Alternating Least-Squares Scaling) multidimensional procedure within SPSS for Windows (Release 6.0). Frequency counts and means were run on questions from the respondent information section.

Choosing the Number of Map Dimensions. Table 1 indicates the overall goodness-of-fit measures for both the 2 and 3 dimensional configurations generated by the MDS program.

Table 1
Goodness-of-Fit Comparisons

Number of Dimensions	Stress Level	R-square
2	.24955	.62233
3	.18882	.61750

The stress level refers to the amount of variance that can not be accounted for by the MDS procedure. In contrast, the R-square value is a measure of the proportion of variance that can be accounted for by the MDS manipulation. In other words, a stress level of "0" and an R-square value of "1" are perfect fits. Therefore, the lower the stress level and the higher the R-squared value, the better the fit of the raw data to the MDS model. The stress level with three dimensions (.18882) is lower than the stress with two dimension (.24955). Since the lower the stress the better, the three dimension stress level is slightly better by .06. The R-square level with two dimensions (.62233) is higher than the R-square level with three dimensions (.61750). Since the higher the R-square value the better, the two dimensional stress level is slightly better by .0048.

Considering both measures of fit, the three dimensional configuration is *slightly* more accurate than the two dimensional figure. This slight improvement in the level of fit measures is contrasted with the considerable increased difficulty in interpreting a three dimensional figure. In summary, the ease of interpreting the two dimensional model outweighs the improved stress of the three dimensional model. Because the goal is to obtain an acceptable level of fit with the smallest number of dimensions, the two dimensional figure is the configuration presented in this paper.

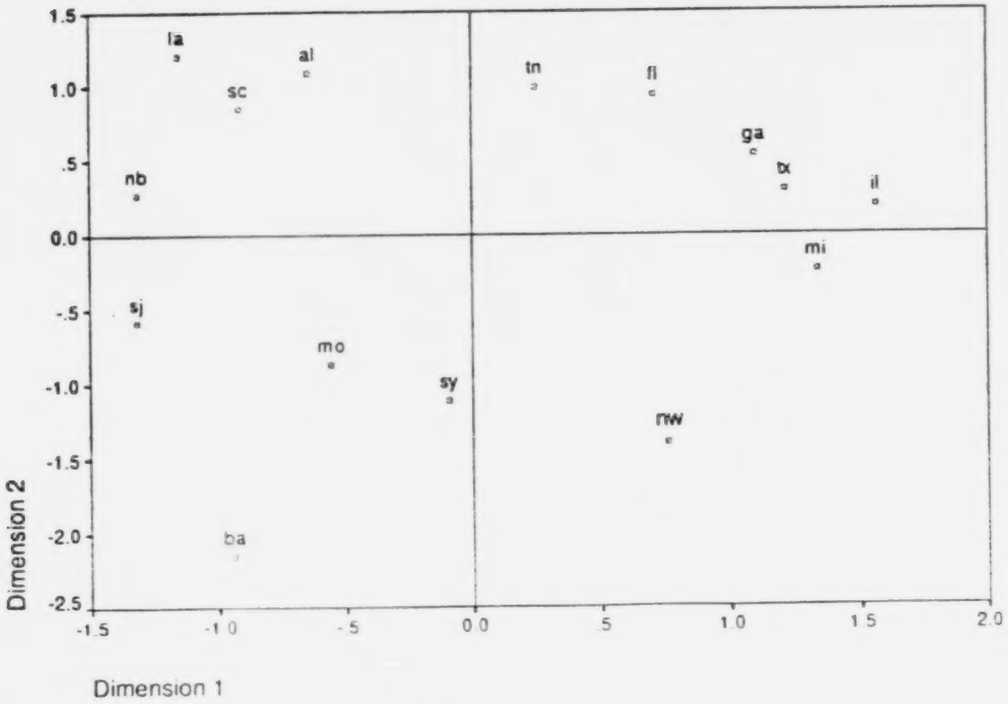
RESEARCH FINDINGS

Table 2 lists the coordinates for each of the 15 schools in the evaluation set. These coordinates were used to produce the spatial map in Figure 1.

TABLE 2
Evaluation Set Coordinates

School	School Codes	Dimension 1 Horizontal Axis	Dimension 2 Vertical Axis
Alabama	al	-.6433	1.0894
Baruch	ba	-.9409	-2.1524
Florida	fl	.7103	.9374
Georgia	ga	1.0990	.5340
Illinois	il	1.5664	.1882
Louisiana	la	-1.1529	1.2071
Michigan	mi	1.3344	-.2415
Missouri	mo	-.5558	-.8690
Nebraska	nb	-1.3137	.2695
Northwestern	nw	.7609	-1.4004
San Jose State	sj	-1.3160	-.5870
South Carolina	sc	-.9152	.8506
Syracuse	sy	-.0937	-1.1140
Tennessee	tn	.2475	.9912
Texas	tx	1.2146	.2971

FIGURE 1
Derived Configuration



Goodness-of-fit Measures. Table 3 shows the goodness-of-fit measures for all 11 matrices and the overall, aggregate matrix. A review of the fit levels for each matrix shows only slight variations between observations. Overall, the stress and R-squared values for the aggregate matrix is .250 and .622, respectfully. This means that approximately 25% of the variance in the matrix can not be accounted for by the MDS procedure or that approximately 62% of the variance in the overall matrix can be accounted for by the MDS procedure. Although there is very little consistency in the research literature, Guilford suggests that an R-squared correlation of .60 or higher is acceptable (Guilford 1956). Using this benchmark, the overall configuration of this research project has an acceptable goodness-of-fit measure.

TABLE 3
Goodness-of-Fit Measures

School Matrix	Stress Level	R-Square
Alabama	.272	.546
Florida	.231	.670
Georgia	.231	.671
Illinois	.298	.476
Michigan	.200	.753
Nebraska	.292	.490
Northwestern	.213	.723
San Jose State	.267	.567
South Carolina	.195	.765
Tennessee	.316	.398
Texas	.186	.786
Aggregate Matrix	**.250**	**.622**

Profile of Respondents. As expected, department chairs have extensive teaching and research experience at a wide variety of schools. Many of the respondents have taught at two or more universities prior to their current appointment. More than 90% of the sample have Ph.D.'s with degrees from 9 different schools. The majority of the doctorate degrees are in Communication or Mass Communication. All respondents reported over 11 years experience in education. Given this extensive educational background, the sample appears to be well versed and knowledgeable about the advertising education market.

INTERPRETATION

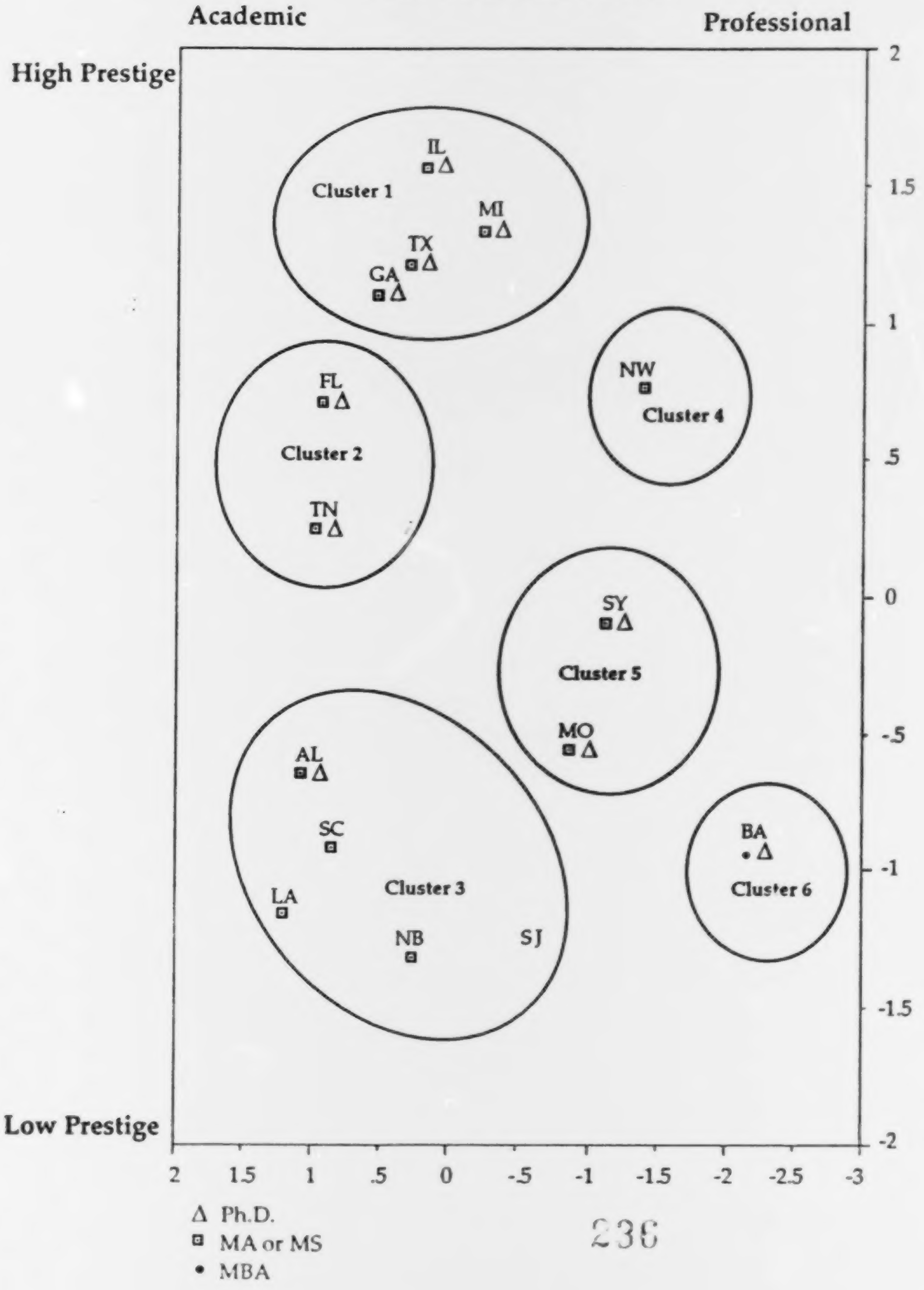
Multidimensional scaling created the map, but the MDS process does not directly identify the two dimensions of the space. The actual interpretation of the configuration map must be done outside the MDS procedure. As recommend by Doyle (1973), the interpretation offered in this paper uses a certain degree of intuition and visual analysis.

Figure 2 is a visual interpretation of the same configuration presented in Figure 1 with the following formatting exceptions: In the Figure 2, the Interpretation Map, the original X and Y axes have been removed. In addition, the orientation of the original configuration has been shifted for a clearer representation. The right side of the original configuration is now the top of the interpretation configuration.

Also, the standard MDS dimension labels (Dimension 1 and Dimension 2), have been renamed to reflect the researchers' interpretation of the map. The vertical dimension is now called "Low-High Prestige" and the horizontal dimension is labeled "Academic-Professional." Finally, the schools which are grouped together are circled to form clusters.

FIGURE 2

MAP INTERPRETATION



School Codes

AL = University of Alabama
BA = Baruch College, CUNY
FL = University of Florida
GA = University of Georgia
IL = University of Illinois
LA = Louisiana State University
MI = Michigan State University
MO = University of Missouri
NB = University of Nebraska
NW = Northwestern University
SJ = San Jose University
SC = University of South Carolina
SY = Syracuse University
TN = University of Tennessee
TX = University of Texas

Vertical Axis Interpretation (Top to Bottom)

After careful review of the configuration, the most apparent pattern is the ordering of schools from top to bottom. Schools appear to be positioned down the configuration in a general descending order of prestige. The subjective "prestige" dimension is composed of three factors:

1) Academic publishing record
2) School ranking reports
3) Availability of graduate education

1) Academic publishing record.

Because the quantity of publications is such an accepted measure of academic quality (Hexter 1969), a school's publishing record (Barry 1990, Soley 1988) is the first measure to support the "prestige" dimension. Intuition was supported by quantitative data with the discovery of the following satisfying relationship between the relative location schools and their publishing records.

All of the top four schools in the configuration -- Illinois, Michigan, Texas and Georgia -- are also the schools with the highest productivity record. Schools at the bottom of the perceptual map - Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana State, Nebraska, and San Jose State - are not listed on publication productivity summaries. Table 4, Publication Productivity Summary, lists schools by amount of publication activity as reported by Barry (1990) and Soley (1988). Clearly, there is a direct relationship between publication record and the vertical position of each school on the map.

TABLE 4
Publication Productivity Summary

Barry (1990)	Soley (1988)
1. University of Georgia	1. University of Texas
2. University of Illinois	2. University of Georgia
3. University of Texas	3. Michigan State University
Michigan State University	4. Arizona State University
5. New York University	5. New York University
6. University of South Carolina	6. Baruch College
7. Arizona State University	7. University of Illinois
8. Baruch College, CUNY	8. Northwestern University
9. Southern Methodist University	9. University of Wisconsin
10. Columbia	10. University of Houston
Wharton	

2) Subjective rankings.

Additional intuitively reasonable conclusions were confirmed by comparing the positions of schools on advertising education ranking surveys (Watson 1989, Keenan 1991, Stout and Richards 1993) and the position of schools on the perceptual map. All of the ranking surveys report the same *general* school clusterings found on the configuration map. Specifically, Illinois, Georgia, Texas, Michigan, and Florida are all ranked on previous surveys in the top quarter of the lists *and* positioned in this MDS map in the top quarter of the perceptual space. See Table 5 - Opinion Survey Summary.

TABLE 5
Opinion Survey Summary

Watson (1989)	Keenan (1991)	Stout and Richards (1993)
1. Illinois	1. Illinois	1. Northwestern
2. Georgia	2. Texas	2. Texas
3. Texas	3. Florida	3. Michigan State
4. Missouri	4. Michigan State	4. Syracuse
	5. Northwestern	5. Missouri
	6. Georgia	6. Wisconsin
	7. North Carolina	7. Harvard
	8. South Carolina	Pennsylvania
	9. Missouri	Thunderbird
	Tennessee	

3) Availability of graduate study.

Finally, the availability of graduate education (MA, MS, and Ph.D.) is considered a function of prestige because the authors assume that schools offering graduate education will have a more diverse and better qualified faculty. In addition, the availability of graduate education is a straightforward way to classify schools into groups. As Figure 2, the Map Interpretation figure indicates, all but one of the schools in the set offer master's degrees. Ten out of the 15 schools have doctoral programs.

Northwestern University, the exception to typical advertising education in many ways, is the only school which offers *only* a MS degree (Ross 1993). Perhaps the fact that Northwestern only offers graduate advertising education explains why the school is located higher on the prestige scale than other schools that offer all three levels of academic degrees.

The conclusion drawn from these observations is that a school's "prestige" will increase if the program offers graduate education, that is, both a master's degree and a doctorate degree. A review of Table 6 below confirms that school offering all three levels of education are at the top of the map while schools only offering MA's or only BA's are located towards the bottom of the map. The one exception to this observation is Northwestern which is located in the top half of the map with only a MA advertising degree program.

TABLE 6
Advertising Schools by Degree Offerings

BA, MA, Ph.D.	BA and MA	MA only	BA only
Illinois	South Carolina	Northwestern	San Jose State
Michigan	Louisiana State		
Texas	Nebraska		
Georgia			
Florida			
Tennessee			
Syracuse			
Missouri			
Alabama			
Baruch			

Horizontal Axis Interpretation (Left to Right)

The second apparent pattern in the configuration is the positioning of schools from left to right on the horizontal axis. In general, the schools on the left side of the configuration appear to be schools with academic and scholarly objectives. Schools on the right side of the map appear to be programs which emphasize professional preparation. In this interpretation, the division between a scholarly research and professional preparation is based on the following three factors:

1) Academic publishing record
2) Academic versus professional master's program
3) Communication versus business master's program

1) Academic publishing record.

Again, the schools fall in a generally predictable pattern from left to right based on their academic publication record. The schools with the highest scholarly publication record are located on the academic or left side of the configuration (Barry 1990, Soley 1988). It makes intuitive sense that schools which emphasize scholarly research have the greatest number of publications in academic journals. It also makes intuitive sense that the schools which emphasize professional preparation would have more publications in trade or consumer publications. Because this study focuses on academic literature, no data were collected regarding publishing outside the academic arena. The authors acknowledge that schools such as Northwestern on the right or professional side of the configuration undoubtedly have impressive publication records in the trade and consumer press.

2) Academic versus professional master's program.

In general, undergraduate advertising degree programs have a professional orientation while Doctoral programs have a research emphasis. Some master's degrees are research based and require a thesis. Other master's degree programs are professionally oriented and require a professional report. A few schools offer the option of a master's degree in either track (Ross 1991). Applying these observations to the perceptual map, it appears that the schools on the right side of the configuration emphasize professional education and schools on the left offer more scholarly or academic graduate advertising education.

3) Communication versus business master's program.

All of the schools in the stimulus set except for Baruch College are located in schools or colleges of journalism or communication. Northwestern emphasizes business applications, although it is located in a School of Journalism (Medill 1993). Baruch and Northwestern, the two schools offering a business orientation, are located on the right, professional side of the configuration along with Syracuse, Missouri, and San Jose State. For this reason, advertising programs with a business or professional orientation are located on the right side of the configuration, while advertising programs in schools of communication offering more academic degrees are located on the left side of the map.

Clusters

Beyond horizontal and vertical positioning of schools, six distinct clusters of stimuli are apparent. Below is a discussion of each of the clusters.

Cluster 1: *Top Tier Advertising Schools.* University of Illinois, Michigan State University, University of Texas, and University of Georgia are clustered together at the top of the figure on the left side of the configuration. Given their relative position, these schools appear to be the most prestigious academic research schools in the evaluation set. All of these schools offer three levels of advertising education and have impressive publishing records (Barry 1990, Soley 1988).

Cluster 2: *Second Tier Advertising Schools.* University of Florida and University of Tennessee are both located in the top half of the configuration but below the first cluster of schools. Both schools offer three levels of advertising education, but do not enjoy the publishing records of the first tier schools (Barry 1990, Soley 1988).

Cluster 3: *Third Tier Advertising Schools.* University of Alabama, University of South Carolina, Louisiana State University, University of Nebraska, and San Jose State University are all loosely grouped into this third tier of advertising programs. Out of this cluster, only University of Alabama offers a doctoral degree. All of the schools except San Jose State University offers master's level education (Ross 1993). San Jose State is the only university on the west coast offering a Bachelor of Science degree in Advertising (San Jose State University 1994). None of the schools are ranked in publication productivity studies (Barry 1990, Soley 1988).

Cluster 4: *Integrated Marketing Communication Education.* Northwestern University is the only school located in the IMC (Integrated Marketing Communication) cluster. Medill is different than the other programs because it offers an integrated approach to advertising. The curriculum is grounded in business and marketing practice (Medill 1993). In the perceptual map, Northwestern is in the upper half of the vertical prestige scale and located on the right professional education side of the configuration.

Cluster 5: *Advertising within Professional Schools of Journalism.* University of Missouri and Syracuse University are appropriately clustered together. Both schools have a strong print and electronic professional journalism tradition (University of Missouri 1993, Syracuse University 1994). This cluster is located on the right, professional side and in the lower half of the perceptual configuration. Perhaps the reason for the relatively low prestige rating of the two schools is that the evaluation of the programs was done by advertising faculty, not journalism faculty. In addition, opinions from Missouri and Syracuse were not included in the survey because completed surveys were not received from the two schools.

Cluster 6: *Business Advertising Education.* Baruch College, CUNY was the only business school in the sample. It is the only school accredited by The American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) rather than The Accrediting Council on Education for Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC). In addition, Baruch is the only program to offer an MBA, rather than a Master of Science, Master of Arts or a Master of Mass Communication (Ross 1991). Appropriately, Baruch is isolated in the far lower right hand corner of the configuration.

In summary, this spatial map suggests that the perception of advertising programs is more complex than the simple ordinal format suggested by ranking reports. The configuration in this paper reveals that the underlying structure of the advertising education market has several school groupings. Schools are clustered together according to their perceived prestige. The top schools have a more research emphasis and offer doctorate education. Lower tier schools do not have prolific publishing records and only offer master's level education. Schools are also clustered together based on their philosophical approach to advertising education. Schools with an academic and communication emphasis are group separately from schools with a business or professional orientation.

APPLICATIONS

There are several practical ways in which the perceptual map can be applied to advertising education. First, the perceptual map can be used as guide for prospective students and guidance counselors during the school selection process. The map can help students, with specific advertising education goals, make school application decisions.

In addition, schools that feel favorably represented in the map, can use the configuration in promotional brochures to show where their school is positioned relative to the rest of the advertising education market. Further, healthy competition between advertising programs is generated by schools eager to move into higher tiers of prestige.

Also, academic publishers, accustomed to segmenting the textbook market can use the map to target textbook marketing efforts. In addition, publishers can also use the map as a guide for soliciting professors as authors. Publishers are more likely to court authors at top ranked research schools for authorship because of the reputation of their school affiliation.

In summary, this map of the current advertising education market has implications for practitioners, students, faculty, employers, publishers, and administrators. More intelligent decisions regarding advertising programs can now be made based on this graphic representation of the advertising education market. This paper essentially created a decision making tool for those involved in advertising education.

LIMITATIONS

Design Limitations.

1) Although great care was taken to select a qualified sample that would represent the general perceptions of the advertising education market, eleven respondents in a sample is too small. There is no doubt that the results of this study would be more robust if the sample size were larger.

2) A portion of the sample felt unqualified to complete the questionnaire. This apparent lack of respondent knowledge could be because some of the advertising programs in the evaluation set are not very well known.

3) The 105 pairwise comparisons made the questionnaire very tedious and intimidating. For those respondents completing the survey, fatigue probably affected some of the last pairwise evaluations.

4) The similarity scale was too large. Respondents were asked to evaluate schools based on a

9-point semantic differential scale. During the coding process, it was apparent that the scale was too large because respondents were not using all of the gradations.

5) This study did not consider schools' records in winning student competitions in either the prestige dimension (vertical axis) or the academic-professional dimension (horizontal axis). Including the success of student competitions would've given both dimensions more breadth of analysis.

MDS Limitations.

This MDS research project is subject to the following inherent limitations of multidimensional scaling as suggested by Kruskal (1978). 1) Perhaps all respondents did not judge each school pair based on the same dimensions. Even if all respondents did use the same attribute set, all respondents probably did not attach the same degree of importance to a dimension. 2) The perception of a school's attribute might not correspond to the reality of the school's attribute. 3) The dimensions actually used by each respondent to evaluate the degrees of similarity between schools might not be the same dimensions used to interpret the map.

FUTURE RESEARCH AND CONCLUSION

The focus of this research project has been purposefully narrow. The goal was to create a perceptual map of the advertising education market using multidimensional scaling. Because the resulting configuration does show that differences in schools exist, there is justification for further research. An interesting future study would be to conduct the same study with a different sample and compare the perceptions of the different sample to the perceptions of advertising faculty. For example, how would schools be positioned on a map if advertising executives or prospective students made the pairwise evaluations? Finally, additional insights about the advertising industry could be gained by applying multidimensional scaling to other advertising institutions like agencies, academic journals, textbooks, media software, trade journals, and professional associations.

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THE SECOND GIANT:

PORTRAYALS OF WOMEN IN JAPANESE ADVERTISING

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ABSTRACT

Japan, second only to the United States in spending on advertising, ranks highest in the world on Hofstede's Masculinity Scale. This study's analysis of 1,132 models in TV and magazine ads found that men do indeed dominate the "high-level business" occupational category. Women's main occupation is "entertainer." Non-working Japanese women are found not in "family" as much as "decorative" roles. Older women are much more visible on TV than in magazine ads. Women are strongly associated with cosmetic products.

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THE SECOND GIANT: PORTRAYALS OF WOMEN IN JAPANESE ADVERTISING

I. INTRODUCTION

Who can deny the importance of Japan on the world stage? Japan's 124 million people, who live in a country slightly smaller than California, have developed the world's second largest economy. The Japanese $3 trillion economy and the U.S. $5 trillion economy together make up 42 percent of the world's GNP.

These two economic giants are also the world's two biggest spenders on advertising--$123,930 million in the United States and $36,760.7 million in Japan for 1989 (nearly $500 per person in the United States and $300 in Japan). Two of the world's 10 largest ad networks are in Japan (see Table 1). Dentsu, with $9,671.6 million in billings, is the world's second largest agency after Saatchi and Saatchi (Japan Yearbook 1992). It equals in size the next eight Japanese advertising agencies combined.

Advertising had dropped in 1992 and 1993, but rebounded in 1994. Newspapers were up 1.1 percent over 1993; television, up 3.4 percent; and magazines, up 1.6 percent (radio advertsising declined) (NSK 1995, p. 5). Table 2 shows that television took in more revenues than any other medium--31.8 percent of the total in 1994.

Japanese Women: Role and Status

The year 1995 marks a propitious time to look at the progress of Asian women. An international U.N. conference will be held in Beijing Sept. 4-15, with a Non-Governmental Organization meeting scheduled for Aug. 31-Sept. 8. The Beijing meeting will "review and appraise the advancement of women since 1985" (WIN News 1994, p.

3), when a conference was held in Nairobi, Kenya. The 1975-85 U.N. International Women's Decade significantly affected Japanese women.

The U.N. imprimatur led to the formation of grassroots women's organizations and policy changes by the Office of the Prime Minister and other government agencies. Most significantly, the Ministry of Labor began reforms within the Bureau of Women, renamed from the Bureau of Women and Minors. In June 1985, Japan's Equal Employment Opportunity law was passed. This legal milestone occurred "in spite of a Japanese male populace which was virtually unconcerned with the issue" (Kodama 1991, p. 10).

However, the law carries no penalties. High earning power, lifelong employment and virtually all politcal powers still belong to men. On Hofstede's (1984) Masculinity Index, Japan ranked highest of the 40 countries studied, with a 95 score. By contrast, the United States scored a middle-range 62, while Norway (8) and Sweden (5) scored lowest. In high masculinity cultures, women and men occupy different places; few women hold professional and technical jobs, and they tend to be segregated from men in higher education (Hofstede 1984, p. 177).

Indeed, 82 percent of four-year college students were men. Women's lower enrollnment in four-year colleges can be partially attributed to the policy of the Japanese Ministry of Education that encourages males to enter four-year colleges and females to enroll in junior colleges (Nester 1992). Thus the figure of 37.4 percent college enrollment for women and the seeminlgy lower 35.2 percent figure for men is misleading.

Similarly, women only seem to play a major role in the work force. In 1988, 45 percent of Japanese women of all ages were in the work force, with a majority of younger women holding jobs. However, they earned half of what men did (for U.S. women, the figure was 70 percent). Most companies still follow a dual employment track: professional (sogo shoku) for men and noncareer (ippan shoku) for women.

Attitudes seem to be changing faster than practice. In 1989, 43 percent of respondents agreed with the view that "a woman's place is in the home." In 1990, according to a survey of 5,000 people aged 20 and over conducted by the Prime Mininter's Office, only 29 percent agreed (Japan Yearbook 1992, p. 286).

Purpose and Significance of the Study

According to Kodama (1991, p. i), "to date there has been a severe lack of English-language materials regarding Japanese women in the media." Indeed, at AEJMC conferences over the past five years (1990-94), 23 papers were presented on mass media in mainland China and Taiwan, but only seven on Japan in all subjects. This study will attempt to counteract that lack by exploring whether advertising conveys a true picture of the changing role of women in affluent Japan. Specifically, it will examine three questions:

1. How are women vs. men portrayed in occupational roles?
2. What products are associated with female vs. male models?
3. What are the relative ages of male and female models?

Table 1. World's Top 10 Ad Groups in 1990

Name of group	Gross income (Unit: $ million)	Billings
WPP Group	2,715.0	18,095.0
Saatchi & Saatchi Co.	1,729.3	11,861.7
Interpublic Group of Cos.	1,649.8	11,025.3
Omnicom Group	1,335.5	9,699.6
+Dentsu Inc.	1,254.8	9,671.6
Young & Rubicam	1,073.6	8,000.7
Eurocom Group	748.5	5,065.7
+Hakuhodo Inc.	586.3	4,529.4
Grey Advertising	583.3	3,910.4
Foote, Cone & Belding Communications	536.2	3,554.8

Source: Japan 1992 Marketing and Advertising Yearbook, p. 292

+ Japanese firm

Table 2. Advertising Expeditures by Medium

Media	Advertising Expenditures (billion yen)			Component Ratio %		
	1992	1993	1994	1992	1993	1994
Newspapers	1,217.2	1,108.1	1,121.1	22.3	21.6	21.7
Magazines	369.2	341.7	347.3	6.7	6.1	6.7
Radio	235.0	211.3	202.9	4.3	4.1	3.9
Television	1,652.6	1,589.1	1,643.5	30.3	31.0	31.8
Sub Totals	**3,474.0**	**3,250.8**	**3,314.8**	**63.6**	**63.4**	**64.1**
Other*	1,975.7	1,864.6	1,840.9	36.2	36.4	35.6
New media	11.4	11.9	12.5	0.2	0.2	0.3
TOTALS	**5,461.1**	**5,127.3**	**5,168.2**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

*Direct mail, fliers, outdoor, transit, POP, directories

Source: NSK News Bulletin, p. 5

II. RELATED RESEARCH

Pollay (1986) has termed advertising "the distorted mirror" because it reflects or reinforces only certain attitudes, behaviors and values--those life-styles and philosophies that serve the sellers' interests. The distortion has at least two facets. First, the conflicting images used to sell products may show actual female role conflicts (Scott 1993, p. 151):

> advertisements tell us much about the ups and downs, the back and forth, of the discourse on beauty . . . In each [time period], the themes of "modern" versus "traditional," "proper" versus "unconventional" can be discerned.

Second, a "cultural lag" may exist between advertising's presentation of women and their current, changing status in society (O'Toole 1982).

Content studies on sex roles have documented patterns in the portrayals of women and men, while experimental studies (e.g., Stephany 1990) have shown ads' possible effects on behavior and attitudes. Kilbourne (1990, p.30) underscored the need for such research: regarding "sex descrimination in the workplace, it appears that there may be contributory influence so long as stereotypical sex roles are used in advertising and the media in general." More than 300 studies in English have explored the complexities of sex roles and advertising (Courtney and Whipple 1983). This study's foci--products, occupation and age--have precedents in earlier work.

Sex-Role Research on U.S. Advertising

Products. Busby and Leichty (1993) analyzed ads in women's magazines over time. Cleaning products, the most visible item in 1959, fell precipitously in 30 years, accounting for 20 percent of ads in 1959; 14 percent in 1969 and 1979; and only 7 percent in 1989. Food, beauty products and personal care items remained strong throughout the 30 years. Interestingly, in 92 percent of beauty product ads, models had a decorative role (no setting or activity was shown, just the model with a plain background).

Occupation. Since the 1970s, many advertising research studies have investigated the employment status of women (e.g., Courtney and Lockeretz 1971; Wagner and Banos 1973; Butler and Paisley 1974; Belkaoui and Belkaoui 1976; and Lazier-Smith 1988).

Busby and Leichty (1993), studying 616 female models, found that those in family roles decreased from 23 percent in 1959 to 10 percent in 1989; those in decorative roles increased from 54 percent in 1959 to 71 percent in 1989; and those employed, though minimally depicted, increased from 1 percent in 1959 to 5 percent in 1989.

Age. Studying ads in four women's magazines, England, Kuhn and Gardner (1981) found no decline in age discrimination against women 1960-1979. Similarly, Busby and Leichty (1993) found a consistency of young, female models. At the other extreme, models aged 55 and over remained at 1 percent in 1959 and 1989 (male models were not coded).

Sex-Role Research on Japanese Advertising

Gender research in Asian societies is a recent phenomenon, given impetus by the U.N. Decade for Women, 1975-85. These studies, many dealing with China (e.g., Cheung 1986) generally discovered differing spheres for men and women. A dearth of Japan scholarship derives partly from the Japanese academic system, which does not stress mass media as a discipline for either professors or students. Thus "Japanese research has not been as impressive as Japanese industrial products" (Ito 1992, 28). A few studies do exist, however, in English.

Nakazawa (1993) studied 318 one- and two-page color ads in February and March 1993 issues of nine magazines: three for both sexes (Shukan Asahi, Dime, and Aera), three for men (Brutus, Popeye and Jiyujikan) and three for women (An.an, With and Fujin Gaho). Of the 318 ads, 186 contained Caucasian models. Nakazawa (1993, p. 5) concluded that "Japanese base their standard of physical beauty on Western qualities."

Ramaprasad and Hasegawa (1990) analyzed 410 prime-time TV commercials that aired on four Japanese television stations during a constructed week in July and August 1987. They found that Japanese commercials use the emotional appeal more than the informational appeal, sometimes with very indirect product selling approaches. The most often advertised product category was food and drinks (34.1 percent), followed by toiletries/ detergents (16.3 percent) and services (12.7 percent).

An average of 29.29 commercials (10 minutes, 11 seconds) aired per hour, the majority (64.4 percent) 15 seconds long, with about a third 30 seconds long (31.5 percent). Broadcast regulation in Japan allows a maximum of six commercial minutes per 60-minute program. However, by airing many short programs, networks can boost TV commercial time (a program as short as five minutes can have a one-minute commecial). Thus TV viewers are bombarded with advertising.

Since Sengupta (1994) studied TV ads and used the same categories as the present study in the same time frame as the present study, his work will serve as our main benchmark for comparison. Between December 1992 and April 1993, Sengupta (1994) studied 18 hours of randomly chosen TV shows to yield 507 commercials portraying 367 males and 480 females. Of these, 33.5 percent of males, but only 16.5 percent of women, were in working roles. The sex of the model and the type of working role were significantly related. Interestingly, voice-overs were 30.5 percent female.

The most prominent roles for working women (N=79) were entertainment (35.4 percent), mid-level business (29.1 percent) and blue collar (15.2 percent). Men (N=123) had the same top three categories, but in differing order. Many more women (N=401) did not work than worked; decorative (43.1 percent) was the largest female category by far. For men (N=244), the largest non-working category was relaxing (33.2 percent).

Almost three-quarters of commercials (73.9 percent) showed single people, which reflects marketers' emphasis on young consumers. They must be wooed because they influence their parents' purchasing decisions and cannot be counted on to follow traditional Japanese consumer habits. In 1984, Dentsu formed a subsidiary aimed at targeting young female shoppers. After school and before marriage, most young "office ladies" live with their parents, leaving their incomes 100 percent disposable. Since average age at first marriage is nearly 26 (nearly 29 for men), that period lasts many years. After they marry, women still control spending, as men turn over their entire salaries to their wives (Solo 1989).

III. METHOD

According to Krippendorff (1980), content analysis seeks to understand data not as a collection of physical events but as symbolic phenomena. This study seeks understanding about gender roles of women and men in Japan through images in both broadcast (television) and print (magazine) advertising.

With one TV set per 1.8 people in Japan, television reaches virtually everyone. Television surpassed newspapers in 1975 as the mass medium with the largest advertising revenues. Each Japanese spends an average of 2.5 hours per day watching one of the five commercial channels (Nihon TV, TBS, Fuji TV, TV Asahi and TV Tokyo), as well as one hour and two minutes watching non-commercial NHK (NHK survey, June 1993).

In 1990, magazine circulation in Japan increased over 1989 for weeklies by 6.2 percent; for monthlies, by 6.0 percent. In 1989, more than 2,000 monthlies (circulation 2,524 million) and 72 weeklies (circulation 1,716 million) were being published.

Magazines have several advantages for sex-role research. First, magazines usually contain a great number of ads showing people. Second, many studies on the portrayal of women in the past have used magazine advertisements (e.g., Courtney and Lockeretz 1971, Butler and Paisley 1984 and Nakazawa 1993), facilitating comparison. Third, their permanence means that the consumer (and the researcher) can review them repeatedly.

Selection of Advertisements

Three magazines from 1990 were selected: AERA (weekly), circulation 400,000, in the general-interest category; Non.no (published on the 5th and 20th of each month), circulation 1.47

million, which appeals to young working and college-age women; and Nikkei Business (biweekly), circulation 260,000, in the men's category. For AERA and Nikkei Business, one issue per month was randomly selected. For Non.no, which had many more ads than the other two, six issues were studied: February 20, April 5, July 5, August 5, October 20 and November 20.

Full-page magazine advertisements showing photographs (black and white or color) of adults were studied. Models in background groups whose faces measured less than 1/4 inch were omitted. Repeated advertisements were counted only once per magazine.

Award-winning Japanese TV commercials from the 1980s were also coded. Of 50 honored by the London Advertising Awards, 35 of the commercials had adult models. Background figures not clearly visible were not coded. Because the dialogue/ narration gave valuable clues, a native speaker of Japanese did the coding. Voiceovers were defined as sales pitches, not singing or talking.

Coding Categories

1. Employment Status. Of the 10 status categories, six define occupation and four deal with models in non-work roles. Obviously many ads show just a model and a product, but no setting; the model's role in this case was coded "decorative," even if the model was seriously at work demonstrating a product.

The occupation of the models was determined by their attire (e.g. uniforms), their surroundings, their use of certain tools or instruments, the tasks they perform or are asked to perform, and the occupation of the people around them. For example, a well-dressed person on an airplane using a lap-top computer was coded "high level business."

These occupational categories were based on those developed by Courtney and Lockeretz (1971):

(1) High-level business executives
(2) Professionals (e.g. doctors, lawyers, teachers)
(3) Entertainment, arts and sports (e.g. movie stars, authors, professional athletes, painters)
(4) Sales, middle-level business, semi-professional (e.g. salesman, officers, nurses, beauticians, waiters, chefs. clerks)
(5) Blue collar (e.g. factory workers)
(6) Military/public serivce/clergy

(7) Family
(8) Recreational (e.g., eating or drinking in restaurant, golfing, vacationing)
(9) Decorative (e.g., demonstrating products)
(10) Other

2. Product Category. These products are organized following a scheme developed by Venkatesan and Losco (1975):

(1) Food/ non-alcoholic beverages
(2) Clothing/fabrics/clothing accessories (e.g. shoes, hats)
(3) Cosmetics/perfume/beauty aids (including men's grooming products)
(4) Drugs/personal hygiene/diet supplements/ contact lenses
(5) Cleaning products/services
(6) Tourism (e.g. package tours, hotels, airlines, resorts)
(7) Furniture/household products/condominiums & home sales
(8) Home appliances (e.g. refrigerators, stoves, vacuums)
(9) Accessories (e.g. jewels, watches, cameras)
(10) Liquor/beer
(11) Cigarettes/pipes/cigars
(12) Entertainment/information (e.g. movies, magazines, books, computers, data services, pens, CDs, tapes)
(13) Auto and related products/services and transportation
(14) Financial (e.g. banks, insurance, investments, credit cards)
(15) Institutional ads, including schools & home instruction
(16) Miscellaneous

3. Age

A notation was made if a model was over 50. One main criterion was grey hair. Certain personalities were known to be over 50, and a few ads mentioned the person's age.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For this project exploring the image of contemporary Japanese women, researchers coded a total of 664 magazine and 35 TV advertisements. The study's unit of analysis was the model--1,052 of whom appeared in magazine ads and 80 in TV commercials (an average of 1.6 models per magazine and 2.3 per TV ad).

As Table 3a shows, more than half the magazine models (57.8 percent) were women. This result for Japan corroborates Busby and Leichty's (1993, pp. 257-258) U.S. finding that "advertising in women's magazines (traditional and nontraditional) is a women's world." When Japanese women's magazines with their many female models are included in a study, they tip the "ad world" population to a female majority.

By contrast, the television "ad world" is populated more by men (57.5 percent) than by women (42.5 percent). The broadcasting of TV signals differs from the narrowcasting of magazines, which can target a special audience of women by using models demonstrating female-only products (like makeup and clothes).

Also, of 31 TV commercials with voiceovers, 84 percent featured males. This finding (Table 3b) does not agree exactly with Sengupta (1994). Possibly differing from his study, this one defined "voiceover" as the authority delivering the sales pitch or naming the product, rather than as the narrator's voice explaining the action taking place in the commercial's mini-drama.

In the interest of space, we will not present data separately for the three magazines (general interest, women's and men's) in the study. These three were included to give a balanced picture of Japanese advertising rather than contrast the advertising in each.

1. Occupational Roles

Table 4 includes Sengupta's (1994) data for television because, with its large number of models (847), it gives a better picture of TV commercials than the small number of models (80) in TV ad award winners from the 1980s. Furthermore, it roughly corresponds with the 1990 time frame and large scope of the magazine ads analyzed (*N*=1,052). Sengupta (1994) used the same occupation categories as the present study.

As Table 4 shows, on all three measures, fewer women than men are represented in the top two occupational categories. More than 10 percent of Japanese men are shown in high-level business roles, while fewer than 5 percent of working women occupy this position (in the categories with large Ns). Women have one sanctioned work role: entertainment/sports, which includes celebrity endorsements of products. Men, on the other hand, have various choices of pursuits in the ad world of work.

The vast majority of female models do not work--about 80 percent for both 1990s magazine and TV ads; their dominant non-working role is decorative. Of the non-working roles, about half the men are engaged in recreation.

2. Products

The 16 coded categories in Table 5 represent a broad segment of East Asian life. Japanese males show a strong presence in magazine ads for entertainment/ information products (28.4 percent), which includes computers. Not surprisingly, Japanese women have a monumental association with cosmetics (24.1 percent) and drugs/ hygiene (17.3 percent).

For TV commercials, both sexes appear consistently in conjunction with entertainment/ information products like stereo equipment (40 percent of male models and 23.5 percent of female models). The absence of cosmetics within the 1980s TV commercials probably means that no cosmetics pitches won awards.

3. Age

Even though respect for the aged is a tenet of the culture, magazine readers will not find older Japanese women pictured in advertising (one out of 577 female models was over 50). Older men are a more vibrant part of the magazine advertising scene (8 percent of male models in Japan).

Older women fare better on television. Because TV commercials often take the form of mini-dramas, some of which center around home life, mothers and grandmothers sometimes appear. Just over 10 percent of male and female TV models are over 50.

Table 3a. Gender of Models in Japanese Advertising

	male models	female models	total
Magazines	475 (45.2%)	577 (54.8%)	1,052 (100%)
1980s TV	46 (57.5%)	34 (42.5%)	80 (100%)
1990s TV*	367 (43.3%)	480 (56.7%)	847 (100%)

Table 3b. Gender of Voiceovers in Japanese TV Commercials

	male voice	female voice	total
1980s TV	26 (84.0%)	5 (16.0%)	31 (100%)
1990s TV*	310 (69.5%)	136 (30.5%)	446 (100%)

*Source: Sengupta (1994)

Table 4: Occupations of Models Depicted in Japanese Advertising

Occupational Category	MAGAZINES		1980s TELEVISION		1990s TELEVISION*	
WORKING	N=297 M	N=135 F	N=19 M	N=12 F	N=123 M	N=79 F
% TOTAL N	62.6%	23.4%	41.3%	35.3%	33.5%	16.5%
1. High-level business	12.8%	1.5%	0	0	19.5%	3.8%
2. Professional	39.1%	11.9%	36.8%	8.3%	24.4%	29.1%
3. Entertainment/ Sport	32.7%	54.1%	36.8%	50.0%	23.6%	35.4%
4. Sales, middle-level business	10.8%	31.9%	10.5%	41.7%	0	2.5%
5. Blue collar	2.6%	0	15.7%	0	26.8%	15.2%
6. Public service/ other	2.7%	0.7%	0	0	5.5%	2.5%
	100%	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
	$X^2=74.3$ $p<.001$		X^2 not calculated (small N)		$X^2=18.71$ $p<.001$	
NON WORKING	N=178 M	N=442 F	N=27 M	N=22 F	N=244 M	N=401 F
% TOTAL	37.5%	76.6%	58.7%	64.7%	66.5%	83.5%
7. Family	4.5%	1.8%	22.2%	54.5%	9.4%	21.4%
8. Recreational	46.1%	19.9%	48.1%	18.2%	50.4%	30.7%
9. Decorative	47.8%	77.4%	7.4%	9.1%	27.9%	43.1%
10. Other	1.7%	0.9%	22.2%	18.2%	12.3%	4.7%
	100%	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
	$X^2=52.1$ $p<.001$		X^2 not calculated		$X^2=72.87$ $p<.001$	
TOTAL N	475	577	46	34	367	480

*Source: Sengupta (1994)

Table 5. Product Categories and Models Depicted in Japanese Advertising

	MAGAZINES		TELEVISION 1980s	
PRODUCT CATEGORY	N=475 M	N=577 F	N=46 M	N=34 F
1) Food/ non-alcoholic drink	4.3%	6.6%	6.5%	5.9%
2) Clothes	8.8%	10.9%	0	8.8%
3) Cosmetics	3.4%	24.1%	2.2%	0
4) Drugs	4.6%	17.3%	10.9%	
5) Cleaning products	0	0.7%	0	0
6) Tourism	10.5%	6.1%	4.3%	0
7) Furniture /housing	0	0.8%	0	2.9%
8) Appliances	0.9%	2.1%	2.2%	0
9) Watches/ cameras	2.9%	2.4%	0	0
10) Liquor	8.6%	2.4%	0	0
11) Tobacco	0.6%	0.5%	0	0
12) Info/ entertainment	28.4%	12.8%	40.0%	23.5%
13) Auto/ transportation	6.3%	2.9%	0	11.8%
14) Financial	6.3%	2.4%	8.7%	14.7%
15) Institution	8.6%	2.3%	19.6%	2.9%
16) Misc./other	4.6%	5.7%	4.3%	5.9%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%
	X^2=217 p<.001		X^2 not calculated due to small N	

Table 6. Models' Ages in Japanese Advertising

	# males 50+	Total	%	# females 50+	Total	%
Magazine	38	475	8.0%	1	577	0
1980s TV	6	46	10.7%	4	34	11.8%

V. CONCLUSIONS

This study of sex roles as revealed through advertising's "shorthand form of communication" (Lazier-Smith 1989, p. 248) can be compared with both previous U.S. and previous Japanese research and "reality." As in the Japanese real world, a majority of models in magazine and TV advertising are women (54.8 percent in 1990 Japanese magazine ads; 56.7 percent in 1992-93 TV ads). But men hold the lion's share of power, exemplified by the 84 and 70 percent male authority voiceovers that boom out of TV sets.

1. Occupation

Men and women occupy different roles in the ad world. Japan shows a clear clustering of men in the high-level business and professional categories, but conspicuous absence of women at the highest level (about 2-3 percent). For the United States, Sengupta (1994) found 6.6 percent of U.S. women in high-level business roles on TV ads, a larger figure than in the Japanese ad world. In fact, reality shows similar trends. U.S. women occupy 11.1 percent of U.S. managerial posts, whereas Japanese women occupy only 1.0 percent of such posts.

An interesting match occurs with Courtney and Lockertz's early (1971) finding of "entertainer" as the top female professional category. Japanese like to see pretty female TV personalities hawking products in both print ads and on television (see Appendix II). It's OK for Japanese women to work in the ad world if they work for our enjoyment.

More non-working than working women appeared in Japanese ads. In the United States, Sengupta (1994) found 30.5 percent of women working in the ad world. Both nations under-represent the percentages of women and men who really do work in favor of showing people at play or without any context at all (Appendix I shows a typical decorative/ no context ad).

Family situations are surprisingly unrepresented in the 1990s in Japan. Given the poll data that shows a recent major shift of opinion (only 29 percent of Japanese think a woman's place is in the home), the 1990s TV and magazine ads that deemphasize family roles reflect current Japanese attitudes. The 1980s small number of TV non-working women (22) makes the family role loom disproportionately large (54 percent) because of a number of award-winning ads that featured family mini-dramas. On the other hand, attitudes did change dramatically from the 1980s to 1990s. The ads may reflect that shift.

2. Product

Cosmetics are prominent and cleaning products are noticeably absent in magazine ads on both sides of the Pacific. Busby and Leichty (1993) note the demise of products like floor wax, detergents and disinfectants from their rank as the number 1 product in 1959. Likewise, in Japan such products are absent in both TV and magazine ads.

The absence of products associated with drudgery surely reveals the affluence of both U.S. and Japanese societies. Every family has to arrange for a clean house; persuasion is needed regarding the nonessential products--those that "sizzle," not those of a banal nature. For both men and women, the "sizzlers" include stereos, computers and CDs. The prominence of these items on TV ads did not match Ramaprasad and Hasegawa's (1990) finding of food and drink as the most prevalent TV product.

3. Age and beauty

Ageism operating against women in print ads seems universal and long-standing. The mature U.S. ad population thins out at age 40 to about 4 percent of women (England, Kuhn and Gardner 1981), and thins even more over 55, to about 1 percent. In Japan, senior citizens fare better on television than in the magazine world, where mini-dramas can feature multiple old and young characters. Fewer models (an average of 1.6) can crowd into a magazine advertisement. The static print ad must highlight a character to associate it with a product--often a young woman in order to attract the targeted OLs ("office ladies") in their 20s with disposable income.

Although not a part of this study, the issue of foreign standards of beauty imposed on Japanese women has been analyzed (Nakazawa 1993). In fact, coders did notice many Caucasian models in both TV and print ads. But the articial manipulation of bodies does not seem as prevalent as in the West; a Japanese model can have less than perfect teeth and even a flat chest (see Appendices).

Limitations of study

Unlike some U.S.-based research (e.g., Busby and Leichty 1993), the present study did not track change over time. Unfortunately, it is hard to go back in time when studyding popular media in Japan. Back issues of popular Japanese magazines are extremely difficult to locate. Likewise, many more TV commercials should be studied. Unfortunately, no Japanese version of the Vanderbilt Archive exists with tapes the public can use. As some say, if the 1990s prove to represent the end of an era in Japan, a profitable course will include future studies to track emerging trends.

A future version of this particular study will omit the somewhat unrepresentative award-winning TV commercials and incorporate Sengupta's (1994) Japanese TV data. Sengupta's 847 TV models from 1992-93, combined with this study's 1,052 magazine models from 1990, will give a full and reliable picture of gender roles in recent Japanese advertising.

Sengupta's overall intercoder reliability, using the Holsti formula, was 88 percent. A person fluent in Japanese and English recoded 25 percent of randomly chosen commercials from both the United States and Japan. (Native speakers did the initial coding.)

For the present study, a graduate student coded about 70 percent of the magazine advertisements, while the author coded about 30 percent. Overall intercoder reliability between the two, based on a sample of 15 ads from Non.no magazine, was 91 percent, also using Holsti's formula:

$$\frac{2M}{N1+N2}$$

where M=the number of coding decisions agreed on; N1=the total decisions by coder 1; and N2=the total decisions by coder 2.

Sengupta's occupational categories already match this study's. He will be able to recode his TV data for age ad product, so that Japanese gender roles in television and print advertising can be compared.

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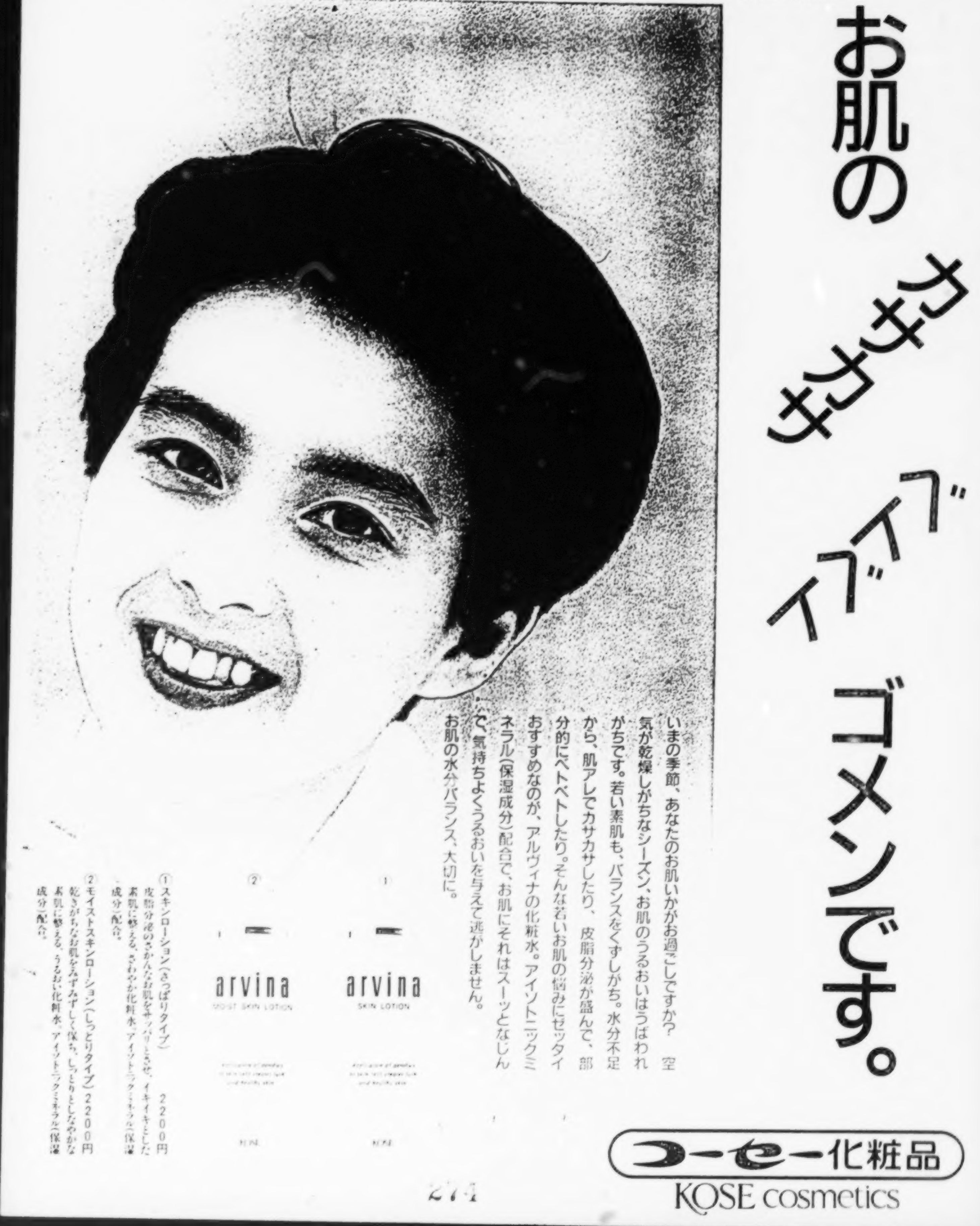
APPENDIX I. Advertisement from Non.No magazine (2/20/90)



お肌のカサカサベトベトゴメンです。

いまの季節、あなたのお肌いかがお過ごしですか？ 空気が乾燥しがちなシーズン、お肌のうるおいはうばわれがちです。若い素肌も、バランスをくずしがち。水分不足から、肌アレでカサカサしたり、皮脂分泌が盛んで、部分的にベトベトしたり。そんな若いお肌の悩みにゼッタイおすすめなのが、アルヴィナの化粧水。アイソトニックミネラル（保湿成分）配合で、お肌にそれはスーッとなじんで、気持ちよくうるおいを与えて逃がしません。お肌の水分バランス、大切に。

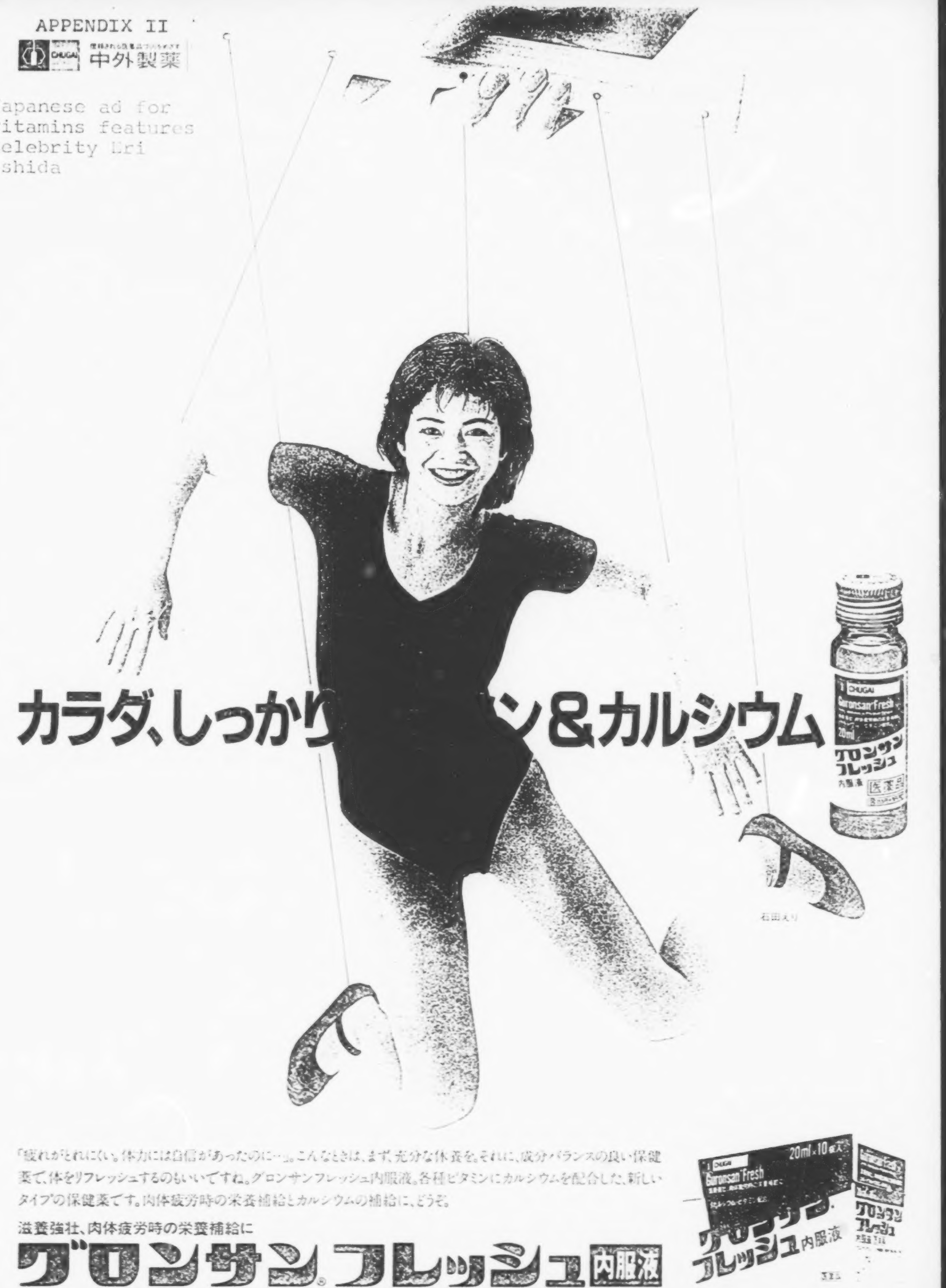
①スキンローション（さっぱりタイプ） ２２００円
皮脂分泌のさかんなお肌をサッパリとさせ、イキイキとした素肌に整える、さわやか化粧水。アイソトニックミネラル（保湿成分）配合。

②モイストスキンローション（しっとりタイプ）２２００円
乾きがちなお肌をみずみずしく保ち、しっとりとしなやかな素肌に整える、うるおい化粧水。アイソトニックミネラル（保湿成分）配合。

コーセー化粧品
KOSE cosmetics

APPENDIX II

Japanese ad for vitamins features celebrity Eri Ishida


CHUGAI
中外製薬
カラダ、しっかり
ン&カルシウム
CHUGAI
Guronsan Fresh
20ml
グロンサン
フレッシュ
内服液
医薬品
石田えり
CHUGAI
Guronsan Fresh
20ml・10本入
グロンサン
フレッシュ内服液

「疲れがとれにくい。体力には自信があったのに……」。こんなときは、まず、充分な休養を。それに、成分バランスの良い保健薬で、体をリフレッシュするのもいいですね。グロンサンフレッシュ内服液。各種ビタミンにカルシウムを配合した、新しいタイプの保健薬です。肉体疲労時の栄養補給とカルシウムの補給に、どうぞ。

滋養強壮、肉体疲労時の栄養補給に

グロンサン®フレッシュ内服液

WOMEN'S EDITIONS OF NEWSPAPERS: MARKETING BAKING POWDER TO THE NEW WOMAN

Presented by
Ann Mauger Colbert
Journalism Coordinator
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August 11, 1995
Joint Session-Ad Division & Commission on Status of Women
AEJMC Conference
Washington D.C.

ABSTRACT

This paper examines marketing aspects of women's editions of newspapers, particularly those related to Royal Baking Powder. As illustrated here, Royal Baking Powder developed a symbiotic relationship with these special newspaper editions during 1894-96. This preliminary descriptive study shows that the historic relationships between advertisers, publishers, and special target audiences should be studied more thoroughly. Perhaps James Melvin Lee's label--a "period of financial readjustment"--fits the 1890s better than its current packaging with yellow/sensational journalism.

WOMEN'S EDITIONS OF NEWSPAPERS: MARKETING BAKING POWDER TO THE NEW WOMAN

Maud Montgomery, writing a generation after Louisa May Alcott had her Little Women publishing "Pickwick Papers," continues a common fictional characterization of young women involved in newspaper work. Her heroine, Anne of Green Gables, however, has taken giant steps away from the life of the Marches in certain respects. Instead of merely finding success as a writer, Anne faces a modern dilemma: Shall she "sell" her writing to promote a baking powder or will she keep her motives pure and ignore the profits available by bending, somewhat, the story to resemble what publishers called reading notices. Her friend has no such concerns; as we shall see, she is more like many of the women involved in charity editions of newspapers--profits not press purity were their goal and were reflected most spectacularly in the advertising for Royal Baking Powder.

Although today it seems almost incomprehensible that groups of society and club women took over local newspapers for a day, community women--novices at journalism, for the most part--did in fact invade many newsrooms throughout the country to publish one special issue for charity. Clearly, the women's editions offered publishers ways to promote their papers and build loyal groups of readers. And, as this paper will illustrate, the women themselves showed themselves experts at marketing and self-promotion. The papers, although my focus here is on the advertising, are models of public relations tools. I will look at the phenomenon and its place in journalism history, but more importantly, I will build a chronology of the editions, a chronology which focuses on the advertising of Royal Baking Powder in the editions. As will be clear from the evolution of the advertising, the editions may well be tied to the growth of Royal Baking Powder's popularity and eventual success.

Although the editions may well fit into a discussion of "stunt" journalism, it is clear that while the women saw them as ways to promote their own agendas, the publishers themselves saw the papers as ways to create a kind of "brand loyalty" similar to that of the Royal brand of baking powder. This might be most clearly illustrated by the remarks of Charles Kennedy, an editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer and author of a history of Cleveland. He writes that the publication of one issue of the paper there did much "to stimulate the work of womankind in the community" and he stresses that the women's work was serious and clearly tied to profit-making. "To make it financially effective," he explains, the women's edition had to be five or six times larger than the regular issue: "A score or more dummy pages with headings such as 'Financial and Commercial,' 'Railroads,' 'Steel and Iron,' 'Retail Merchants' were prepared by the artists and . . . solicitation of advertisements carefully laid out. . . at three times the regular Plain Dealer advertising scale!" (Kennedy, 1925, 97.)

Kennedy's story of the women's work continues by noting that for a month all the local newspapers reported the events of each day's progress; the forthcoming editon was discussed by everyone as "fat bank checks" began to pour into headquarters. "Meanwhile the members of the women's staff were taking lessons from our regular editorial department men, so that at a critical moment there would not be too much mixing of current news style." Afterwards, the demand at news stands and on the streets increased hour by hour, he added, noting that one lesson from the experience was the adaptability of women to newspaper work. He was so impressed by one woman in the business department that he afterward employed her regularly on the advertising staff (Kennedy 98-100).

He notes that the women made a net profit of $5,300 to apply to the Friendly Inn, a local charity for women. But, in addition, the whole experience brought a world of good public relations to the door of the Plain Dealer. As Kennedy explains, the women's edition "enlisted the warm support of all Cleveland, furnished a fund of excitement in society circles, and incidentally, introduced the morning Plain Dealer into many homes where it had never been welcome" (Kennedy 97). Clearly, then, the women's edition served as a vehicle for advertising revenues and good will. In other words, if the paper were "introduced in homes where it had never been welcome," it was a positive marketing tool for the newspaper as well. Assuming that the same story could be told from the perspective of many community editors, one sees that the editions which served as a network for women throughout the country were also an early form of local newspaper marketing. In addition, they were, clearly, a vehicle by which marketers were able to expand markets and develop brand loyalties. To further the analogy, a national advertiser of baking powder might (and did, as we shall see) find that the women's editions brought brand recognition--maybe even brand loyalty--into homes where the women of the house were able to hire cooks and probably had no direct involvement with brands of items like baking powder.

Clearly there were benefits to newspapers' opening their doors to upper-middle-class and society women; similarly, the women were found newspapers a good way to promote their philanthropic efforts by selling advertising. Enter, then, Royal Baking Powder, one of the first products to be marketed as a brand. Business historian J. D. Norris (1990) writes that Royal Baking Powder was distinguished by its efforts to create markets. And advertising historian Frank Presbrey (1929) describes Royal as one of four early firms which developed a systematic approach to create demand for a product.

Understanding women's editions, then, requires at least a sensitivity to advertising history as well as an awareness of the mutually benefitial situation described above. As we've seen in the Cleveland example, women's editions were distinct from the popular women's pages, although building readership loyalty among female readers would certainly have been a goal for any late 19th-Century publisher. As described in a biography of Joseph Pulitzer, early efforts to attract women readers were attempts to shed a masculine orientation and woo women readers. Pulitzer's marketing talents clearly map a success plan, as he did not win a female following solely by discoursing on subjects of general interest: Pulitzer "knew that it is the business of popular journalism to persuade individual groups of people that the newspaper contains material specifically for them" (Juergens 1966, 145). Pulitzer's contributions to journalism history, to sensationalism, even his potential as a study in marketing are beyond the scope of this paper except as he served as a model for others (Hearst, for one; Juergens 45).

Soon-to-be-branded "yellow," the journalists/publishers were searching for the successful blend of business, market identification, and news, and it is interesting to observe that a journalism history originally written by James Melvin Lee in 1917 looks at the period normally labeled "yellow" or sensational (Emery 1992) and calls it a "period of financial readjustment" marked by "a tremendous increase in the amount of advertising printed in newspaper" (Lee 1923). Pulitzer's early women's pages and their advertising content, then, provided but one marketing lesson to others from around the country. (For a particularly lively chapter on women's editions in yellow journalism's history read about the Denver Post and its city room which was referred to as the "bucket of blood," so-called because of its use of red headlines (Fowler 1933; Perkin 1959).

Women's editions, then, while they might be linked to what is called "stunt" journalism, are something different from the yellow journalism of New York City and the established women's pages there. As marketing tools, however, women's editions probably served similar functions. Once women were established in publishers' minds as a significant group of newspaper readers and once the newspaper was established as a product serving multiple markets, the problem for publishers was what marketers and advertisers have called "brand loyalty" in other contexts. The number of daily newspapers in most cities of the 1890s exceeded readers' needs and expectations. The problem was how to develop reader loyalty, how to develop a formula that would please multiple members of a family. As Fourth Estate, a trade association publication, put it in 1895, the woman's choice of newspaper will be the family paper.

Several columns had also been devoted that year to discussing the advertising of Royal Baking Powder, and 1895 was also the year the women's editions reached their peak. According to the writer for the publishers' organ, Royal Baking Powder's advertising was the particular interest and concern of its inventor, Joseph C. Hoagland. The former druggist invented baking powder in Fort Wayne, Ind., according to a short item in a book appropriately called Symbols of America. After Hoagland and his partner Thomas M. Biddle discovered the popularity of their formula, they moved to Chicago in 1875 (Morgan 1986, 128).

That a trade publication for publishers and journalists would be discussing ways to attract the loyalty of women readers seems natural, if not predictable, given the increase in advertising for goods and services. As suggested earlier, the women's edition "fad" (for so it was described by the same Fourth Estate on more than one occasion during 1895) might well have been a marketing tool for the publishers. Certainly it provided the vehicle by which women's groups from around the country communicated the nature of their work in what became known as the municipal housekeeping movement (Gottlieb 1994, McBride 1994). And though the editions might be placed in the reform context, according to this writer's earlier discussions, women's editions showcased not only areas of women's progress but also their writing and their ideas. As the women's editions caught on in communities around the country, a network of shared topics was also apparent in the items which were published (Colbert 1993).

The special women's newspapers were published throughout the country, in communities large and small. In case after case, the pattern repeated itself: women formed themselves into advertising and editorial staffs and arrived on the appointed day to put out the newspaper. Their efforts were almost always in the interest of some charity. In San Francisco, The Examiner was published on Christmas Day, 1894, for the benefit of the Children's Hospital. Behind-the-scenes guidance was given by Annie Laurie (penname of Winifred Sweet), a reporter who had spent several weeks providing publicity about "Little Jim," a victim of poverty and of some incurable disease. School children sent pennies to the Little Jim Fund and columns of names appeared day after day, as the crusade wound toward its optimistic end. Publisher William Randolph Hearst must have been fully aware of the public relations gained by these gestures because this was one of his most popular writers he had put in charge (Beasley 1993, 118).

That the fund-raising aspect of the editions was also seen as a reflection of community connections is clear from the names of the women involved. That the money-raising was central to the efforts is also indicated by staff listings. In addition to editors and editresses, we see "treasurer" and "cashier." These positions were enumerated along with the "city desk" or "copy reader," suggesting much about the way the women thought about their work. And as we've noted in the Cleveland example, the women are, more often than not, clearly involved in some effort to raise money. It might be argued that these women--part of a group known to decry personal publicity in the newspapers--found themselves able to cross the lines of what might be considered impropriety because they were engaged in fundraising for some worthy cause. Certainly attitudes about what constituted appropriate behavior for women and for writers were common, as illustrated by children's writer Maud Montgomery.

Montgomery goes a step further than just involving her heroine in writing and publishing. She has her Anne (of Green Gables) win a prize for the best story using Rollings Baking Powder. Unfortunately, Anne herself did not enter the story; a friend changes a few details of one of her stories and mails the entry in Anne's name. As the friend explains her additions and alterations later, "You know where Averil makes the cake? Well, I just stated that she used the Rollings Reliable...and then where Perceval clasps Averil in his arms and says,...we will never use any baking powder except Rollings Reliable" (Montgomery 1987, 114).

Some foreshadowing that something will probably happen is given when Anne herself--a hardworking would-be writer--reacts to the idea of baking powder writing contests with "I'd never dream of competing for it: "I think it would be perfectly disgraceful to write a story to advertise a baking powder. It would be almost as bad as Judson Parker's patent medicine fence" (Montgomery 113). Obviously, then, when Anne's doctored story wins the baking powder company's prize, she is less than pleased. She sees the interference of her friend as ruining her art, setting her up in the eyes of others as one who writes "merely" for personal gain, one who has no personal scruples about "selling out" her art for money: "I feel as if I were disgraced forever. What do you think a mother would feel if she found her child tattooed over with a baking powder advertisement? I feel just the same. I loved my poor little story, and I wrote it out of the best that was in me" (Montgomery 115-16).

The story has parallel themes to "A Bride's Triumph" which appears on page 10 of the woman's edition of The Milwaukee Journal of Feb. 22, 1895. Two columns long and illustrated with three engravings, the piece presents a moral related to good cooking (and happy marriages, presumably): "Soda and cream of tartar, my child? Are you so behind the times as that? Not a dust of either, simply Royal Baking Powder. If you put your stuff together right and put one teaspoonful of Royal Baking Powder in, it can't fail." Whether such pieces were written by marketing account managers or by competing authors has not been determined. But the two stories illustrate an interesting aspect of the Royal Baking Powder Company's marketing plan. And according to James D. Norris (1990), the advertising of Royal Baking Powder was always part of some larger marketing plan. Certainly the Montgomery story seems to offer evidence that authors were encouraged to write stories to be used for marketing products such as baking powder. And as we shall see, there are even more examples of Royal's aggressive marketing in relation to the women's editions. As the editions' fad spread around the country, Royal's presence moves from subtle and amusing references in stories to one-column testimonial cuts to full-page advertisements from women community leaders.

In Lafayette, Ind., a different kind of reference to Royal appears in a poem, "A Ballade of Sad Biscuits." Written by Evaleen Stein, known throughout the late 19th century for her art and children's books (Shumaker 1962) but forgotten today, the doggerel begins: "A dole, and dolor, an I wailing woe!/ Hark! Hark! whilst our heavy hearts make moan./ Cut down in the flour of our blameless dough,/heavy and hard as a paving stone!? Nor rise our cries for ourselves alone,/But for saddened flapjacks of every land,/For bilious biscuits of every zone,/We were not raised with the Royal brand!" The poem, worth continuing, goes on:

It leavened us not! Alas, no, no!
By perfidious powders blasted, prone
Low in our ovens we sink, and so
The wrecks of innumerous pies lie strown!
In the name of sense why must we groan,
We were not raised with the Royal brand.

...In the bold, bad powders made from bone!
O, the U.S. chemists have plainly shown
Their skim milk of tartar, chalk and sand.
And through fumes of ammonia our griefs intone
We were not raised with the Royal brand!

Envoy.
What profit that goodly seeds were sown,
And the wheat grew green on every hand,
That our flours from golden meads were mown,
We were not raised with the Royal brand!

The women's editions, then, have become part of a marketing phenomenon much more sophisticated than a mere advertising campaign. As already mentioned, Royal, one of the first major advertisers, is described by James D. Norris (1990), as distinguished by efforts to create markets. Likewise, advertising historian Frank Presbrey (1929) notes that Royal was one of the four early firms that developed a systematic approach to create demand for a product. Long before the two-column Royal plate began to appear regularly in newspapers, a reading notice appeared in March 1880 in Demorest's Monthly Magazine which appears to be a news notice about the negative effects of "alum in our bread" but is, as turning the page explains, an ad saying that Royal is "pure." Norris explains that the distinction lay "not so much in the frequency of advertising as to a planned and systematic effort to increase the demand for the total product as well as to secure as large a share of the market as possible" (Norris 48). Clearly Royal Baking Powder had years of image building before it became the object we are examining in women's editions.

As the editions illustrate, Royal positioned itself with both women and progressive politics through its advertising. It must have moved quickly to create the appropriate contacts and advertising plates, for the first really big women's editions were published in December of 1894 in San Francisco, Minneapolis, and Denver. (Smaller communities had tried the novice approach to newspapering first; in Rockford, Ill., in March; shortly thereafter in Grand Rapids, Mich., and South Bend, Ind.) The long story cited earlier from the Milwaukee Journal appeared in February. A few months later, in Orange, N.J., on page 9 of the women's edition of the Orange Chronicle, a beautiful half-page advertisement with a hand holding the baking powder can appears in white on a black box which is printed on top of what appear to be ten handwritten letters testifying to the superior quality of Royal Baking Powder.

These names do not match those of the women who worked on the paper and could be fictitious testimonials used for the visual appeal of the "handwritten" testimonial letters. What is significant is that two months later, a similar half-page ad appears in the nearby Montclair, N.J., women's edition of the Times. And now the names are of women who were involved with the paper. Instead of signatures, however, a note appears which suggests yet another evolutionary step for the Royal campaign: "A fine engraving plate designed for this page failed to arrive in time for publication and the managers substitute therefor the present page and add thereto the personal endorsement of the Editors and Staff of the Woman's Edition--an endorsement they can conscientiously give without reservation." Was the engraving plate similar to that which appeared in Orange or was this one with "real" names and facsimiles of signatures?

On May 10, in Nyack, N.Y., a quarter-page ad announces "What the Ladies of Nyack have to say about Royal Baking Powder." This time, almost all of the signatures appear to be those of women working on the women's edition there. "Many are the vexations that beset the busy cook," begins the copy which goes on to point out that Royal Baking Powder allows a mistress to be sure "even when the cook is left to her own devices...absolutely pure and accomplishing the best results in the production of superior and most wholesome food." Yet a fourth example of Royal's evolution from minor advertiser to major player appears on June 27, 1895, in the spectacular three-section women's edition of the St. Paul Dispatch. Here, a full page with the motto "Speaking from Their Experience" introduces many signatures. For the most part, the signatures match names of those involved with the paper. Surely this is Royal at its grandest (and most costly, no doubt).

Variations on these themes are used in other papers' ads. The "Absolutely Pure" slogan appears frequently, as does the suggestion that other baking powders contain alum and might be detrimental to health, not to mention success at cooking. (As many of the women no doubt learned later, Royal Baking Powder owned an alum-based baking powder that competed with Royal under a different name.) To illustrate the chronology and evolution of the phenomenon and its Royal connection, more details about some of the papers are given here. The example editions are listed in chronological order, to make their development as a nationwide phenomenon clearer. Developments related to advertising for baking powder also are noted, and the papers included for 1895 and 1896 are only those with Royal ads. A gradual evolution can be seen throughout the women's edition fad; an evolution in advertising can be seen as well. A pattern from small regular Royal ads featuring their typical "Absolutely Pure" slogan to full-page testimonial ads with the signatures of the women involved with the edition have already been discussed briefly, but many variations exist. For example, the Nashville American women's edition on May 9, 1895, has one-column signatures with brief testimonials sprinkled throughout the paper.

One of the items important to this discussion is the existence of competitors. In regular issues of newspapers of the 1890s, the Royal Baking Powder ad appears on the editorial page, suggesting women are regular readers of pages other than those for "woman's realm." Royal ads also frequently appear on the front page of newspapers, in the upper-right-hand corner under the date. A competition with Dr. Price's Cream Baking Powder is seen throughout the decade. Ads for the two companies are frequently paired, and are noted in the chronological study when appropriate. As the evolution of the advertising led to testimonials with signatures (a real test of the engravers' art), I will also observe in passing those items and preliminaries which appear to be related in some way. Again, this chronological listing contains only those papers which appear to be related to the baking-powder marketing link to women's editions of newspapers.

March 24, 1894. Rockford Morning Star. Rockford, Ill. First amateur women's edition found, published by the Ladies Aid Society. Among the news items is a story about the St. Cecilia Society (see next chronological entry.) A publisher's note says that one of the purposes of giving the edition to women is to show that women with no previous experience in journalism could put out a daily paper. Edition was eight pages long. A large ad proclaims that the articles will carry writers' names--"None genuine without our signatures," an obvious link to advertising campaigns like Kellogg cereals and a link which will appear in future Royal ads. (Collecting signatures of famous people was a long-standing fad of many individuals, so it makes sense that advertisers would use this ploy to promote attention to ads and to products.)

May 5, 1894. Grand Rapids Evening Press. Grand Rapids, Mich. Published by the "Saints" of the St. Cecilia Society." Edition was 16 pages long. A "handwritten" note appears on a plate in the Voigt Brewery Co. ad. A full-page ad for Dr. Price's Cream Baking Powder ("the autocrat of the breakfast table") appears on the back page of the edition. Although Royal Baking Powder ads appear regularly in competition with Price, no Royal ad can be seen in the microfilmed (and thin in spots) edition of the paper.

June 30, 1894. Elkhart Daily Journal. Elkhart, Ind. A second edition published by a group forming a local St. Cecilia Society. Four editors, an advertising committee and finance committee compose the staff listings. This edition is directly descended from the Grand Rapids one; their front page illustration was borrowed from the Grand Rapids "Saints" and thanks is given to those ladies on the editorial page for editorial assistance. Edition is four pages long.

December 25, 1894. Rocky Mountain News. Denver, Col. A 16-page paper edited by the Woman's Club has a clear metaphor to the editions as communication networks: Its front page has a woman sending carrier pigeons toward the sun with envelopes labeled philanthropy, reform, equal suffrage, and good government. "Ye new woman sends greeting to ye east," says the message in a filigree frame. A "handwritten" card sends greetings with the signature (in quotes) "Buffalo Bill" on page 2 and greetings with signatures appear from famous contemporaries Mary Lowe Dickinson, Louise Chandler Moulton, Ednah D. Cheney, Mary Eastman, Ellen M. Henrotin, Alida C. Avery, Ellen M. Mitchell, Abby Morton Dias, Jessie B. Davis, and Bertha Honore Palmer. A regular one-column baking powder ad for Dr. Price's Cream Baking Powder appears on page 8 and a regular two-column ad for Royal appears on page 12, the editorial page for this issue. They are identical to those which appear in Minneapolis, next.

December 25, 1894. Minneapolis Journal. Advertisements for two baking powders--Dr. Price's Cream Baking Powder ("awarded top honors at the World's Fair") on page 8 and Royal's regular two-column ("absolutely pure; highest of all in leavening power") on page 14. Although the Dr. Price ad is in a vertical format and the Royal runs horizontally, the two are approximately the same size and are similar to ads which appear in many of the contemporaneous journals.

December 25, 1894. San Francisco Examiner. San Francisco, Cal. This large paper was published for the Incurables Ward of the Children's Hospital under the guidance of Annie Laurie (Winifred Sweet Black). Despite Laurie's behind-the-scenes guidance, only community women are listed on the mast. Signatures appear on facsimiles of telegrams giving congratulations from famous figures such as Buffalo Bill and Nellie Bly. The regular Royal ad appears, as usual, on the editorial page. Paper is 40 pages long.

January 24, 1895. Cleveland Plain Dealer. Cleveland, Ohio. The staff of editors, managers, business personnel, and contributing writers has more than 200 names of women involved with the 44-page paper. Several copies were printed on white silk.

January 26, 1895. Arkansas City Traveler. Arkansas City, Kansas. Edition was printed under auspices of the management of the Ladies' Aid Society of the First Presbyterian Church. No editor-in-chief stands at top of mast; instead, we have a business manager, managing editor, and treasurer. Paper appears to be eight pages long, although microfilm was unclear in places. It has no Royal ad but I have included it because it includes front page advertising similar to earlier newspapers.

March 15, 1895. Knoxville Tribune. Knoxville, Tenn. The paper is 36 pages long. On page 25 appears a three-column square advertisement for Mrs. L.E. Gray's Baking Powder, a hometown product which claims it is the only one on the market that sells at 40 cents per pound and "guaranteed absolutely pure." Page 33 is a full-page Royal ad with testimonials on imitation calling cards. Some of the names are of women involved with the edition. No signatures appear; these are typeset names with typeset promotional remarks. A third baking powder ad appears on page 35--a one-column display for the New South Baking Powder Co. of Knoxville.

March 16, 1895. Angola Magnet. Angola, Ind. The Royal ad is a typical two-column, page 2 ad. Charitable object of the women in Angola was the Sorosis Circle and the edition was 18 pages long.

April 14, 1895. Topeka Daily Capital. Topeka, Kansas. The paper was 24 pages long and had a full-page Royal ad. Names of the women involved with the paper are given as testimonials to the ad, but no signatures appear yet.

April 16, 1895. Lafayette Daily Courier. Lafayette, Ind. The Royal ad is the full back page of the edition. In addition to the ad is the poem quoted earlier, the humorous doggeral by Evaleen Stein.

May 9, 1895. Nashville American. Nashville, Tenn. This forty-page paper has many full-page ads, but in the case of Royal, something different appears. One-column cuts are used throughout the paper with short one-line testimonials and signatures. The names are difficult to read, so I cannot with any assurance say that these names are real members of the women's edition staff. With the exception of the signatures, the one-sentence notices are similar to the reading notices/ little baking powder ads which appear throughout the later part of the century in many newspapers.

May 25, 1895. Nyack Journal. Nyack, N.Y. The Royal Baking Powder ad fills one quarter of the page and has signatures of women involved with the women's editions. Royal ads typically appear in this paper on page 1 on the upper right-hand side.

June 1, 1895. Logansport Saturday Night Review. Logansport, Ind. This eight-page paper has a half-page Royal ad on the back page. Signatures of community women are included, as are those of cooks and a chef from the Columbian Hotel. A nearly illegible scrawl which looks like a fourth-grader's first attempt at cursive writing is identified as that of the "pastry cook, Barnette Hotel."

November 27, 1895. Indianapolis Sentinel. Indianapolis, Ind. While the jump June to November may seem radical, space dictates some editing. Full-page ads with signatures and testimonials have already been discussed in the text, but the Indianapolis women's edition provides an interesting item for discussion because its front page is a full-page ad--for Waverley Bicycles. Raising a sneer from a Cincinnati editor, the page shows a woman on a bicycle holding a ribbon which waves across the sky with the Waverly logo and message. She is holding the banner with both hands, and two turkeys hustle to get out of her path. Here, as in other examples, the women appear to be real Indianapolis women and their signatures are reproduced under the headline, "They Speak from Experience."

By 1895, the Royal Baking Powder wasn't just appearing in women's editions of newspapers; it was a major advertiser and presented a major force. The company had caused some controversy with its use of what newspapers call "reading notices." These were not like the fiction story which Montgomery writes about or that appeared in the Milwaukee Journal but instead are items which masquerade as news, as in the magazine item mentioned earlier. Sometimes they are blatant criticisms of other brands: "A Baking Powder to Avoid," reads the headline of one such item. Measuring six inches, the "story" concerns the inferiority of cheap baking powders, especially those containing alum. "Alum baking powders are rank poison to many constitutions," says the item.

Reading notices were later discredited by publishers; the credit for some of that impetus is given by journalism historian Sally Foreman Griffith to William Allen White, the publisher of the Emporia Gazette, a correspondent for the muckraking magazine McClure's, and probably the most famous of the smalltown progressives (Griffith 1989, p. 95.) She also provides some evidence of the hassle publishers must have felt in dealing with the Royal and quotes a letter White wrote the company: "Send us a check for anything you think is reasonable, and let us saw this matter off, and for heavens sake don't ever write to us again" (Griffith 90).

Beyond the scope of this paper, the ethics of the Royal Baking Powder may well bring women's editions and the loyal testimonials of these community leaders into high relief. Ten years later, in McClure's magazine, Lincoln Steffens, already known for his Shame of the Cities series in 1903, shows in Enemies of the Republic how Royal is involved in graft and bribery throughout the political system in St. Louis, and one presumes, other cities (Steffens 1904). Shortly afterward, a baking powder "trust" organized by the Royal is discussed. And as late as the 1920s, federal investigators were investing the Royal for unfair trade practices

As seen here, the women's editions show an evolution which may be related to the marketing efforts of Royal Baking Powder. Certainly, in addition, these special newspapers provide an interesting snapshot of one of the intersections between journalism and women's activities. With their fabulous full-page signature ads, their famous contributors and "signature" notes, their men's pages and fund-raising goals, women's editions are certainly more important than the late 19th-century ephemera they appear at first glance to be. They gave women throughout the country an opportunity to share with each other municipal housekeeping progress and goals, they made money for charitable enterprises, they gave publishers a chance to market newspapers to these new women, and they served as an important vehicle for marketing national brands such as Royal Baking Powder.

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PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN THE ADVERTISEMENTS IN INDIA TODAY—INDIA'S LEADING CURRENT AFFAIRS MAGAZINE: 1984 — 1994

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the levels of sexism in the portrayal of women in the advertising in India Today, India's leading current affairs magazine, for the years 1984 and 1994.

The female readership (roughly 10% of the total readership) of this magazine comprise mostly educated Indian women. The literature reviewed divides them into two categories — (1) educated women who are able to devote themselves completely to their careers and (2) educated women who struggle between balancing careers and traditional, domestic and family obligations.

Findings show that over the last decade, women were increasingly portrayed in independent roles and as participating as equals of men in the work world. However, a slight increase was also noted in the portrayal of women as putting their domestic obligations before the demands of their careers. These findings have important social, cultural and economic implications for the future course of the womens' movement in India.

PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN THE ADVERTISEMENTS IN INDIA TODAY-INDIA'S LEADING CURRENT AFFAIRS MAGAZINE: 1984 - 1994

Introduction

According to a United Nations research report (1975) on advertising and the portrayal of women, advertisers have been held responsible for projecting women in a "derogatory light," and "as an inferior class of human beings" (National Advertising Review Board, 1975). Several studies which examine the images of women conveyed through advertising have been undertaken in the United States. However, according to Cooper-Chen, Cho, and Leung (1994), there is a dearth of media gender studies in Asian countries, many of which are currently experiencing a boom in the advertising industry.

In her study on advertising and the changing work roles of women, Robinson Rutz (1981) noted that "the advertisers' main concern was that their role was to sell their clients' products and services — not to report on social change" (p. 10). However, Desai and Patel (1990) state that the images portrayed by advertisements have a definite impact on the thought patterns of society and various groups within society.

Ball (1985) reports about the advertising industry in India, a country vast in its geographical and human resources proportions, and how it finally opened its doors to Western markets in the late 1980s. However, Tefft (1987) states that along with the recent boom in advertising, there has been a growing concern among several Indian womens' groups that too many advertisers are portraying women as sex objects or as stereotypical "happy housewives". Shrivastava's (1992) research on the Indian media has shown that the dominant negative stereotypes in connection to the portrayal of women are:

1. A woman's place is in the home.

2. The most important and valuable asset of a woman is physical beauty.
3. A woman's energies and intellect must be directed toward finding the "right man" and in "keeping" him interested.
4. Women are dependent, coy, submissive; they are masochistic in their response to indignities, humiliations and even to physical violence inflicted upon them.
5. The "good" woman is the traditional housewife — long-suffering, pious and submissive; the modern woman who asserts herself and her independence is undesirable and can never bring happiness to anybody nor find happiness herself.
6. Women are women's worst enemies.
7. The working woman is the undesirable exception who must be brought into the marriage fold and made to conform to traditional social norms.

Educated working women in India no longer fit the stereotypes outlined above. Sharma's (1990) research on the status of women in Indian society shows that within the male-dominated patriarchal ideology of society, a sizeable number of Indian women are involved in the work force, and hold positions of prestige and power. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the emergence of women in the Indian work force, and the independence enjoyed by a small section of educated working women is a recent phenomenon in the cultural and gender-related history of the country. According to historians Jacobson and Wadley (1992), for centuries, and up to as late as 1947 when India gained independence from British rule, the Indian woman always played a secondary role in relation to men. Maitra-Sinha (1993) cites Manu, the first codifier of Hindu law, who wrote, "From the cradle to the grave, a woman is dependent on a male — in childhood on her father, in youth on her husband, and in old age on her son" (p. v).

But despite increased opportunities for women today, there still exist certain deep-rooted social and cultural factors within society and the work world which hinder their overall progress. Shrivastava (1990) states that the stereotypical media portrayals, in turn, contribute to making the struggle for emancipation from debilitating social norms a very difficult process.

Purpose of Study

Limited research has been conducted on the portrayal of women in Indian advertising. The purpose of this study is to examine the image of women portrayed in magazine advertising in India over the last decade — the decade in which, according to Kumar (1989), educated Indian women began to join the professional work force in increasing numbers.

The magazine studied was the English version of India Today, India's leading current affairs and news magazine. The years examined were 1984 and 1994. The magazine which began publication in 1976, is a bi-weekly and is published in English (circ. 368,700) and Hindi (circ. 232,700). These figures, taken from Benn's Media Directory (1992), make India Today the country's highest circulating magazine .

Patterned after Time and Newsweek, the magazine focuses on Indian political and economic current affairs. The readers are educated, well-informed and hail from urban areas. The primary age group for the readers is berween 25 to 34 years, with women comprising approximately 20% of the total readership (National Readership Survey IV, 1990-1991). More than 50% of the readers are professionals or hold at least graduate degrees. National advertisers place their advertisements in India Today, and their messages reach professional, educated and politically aware men and women throughout the country.

The second part of the study is a literature review which explores the status of women in Indian society and the work place. This part of also examines the manner in which Indian women are portrayed in advertising and other media. In order to provide a framework for comparison with neighboring countries w related cultural and historical backgrounds, the media portrayals of women some other Asian countries was also included in this section.

The third and fourth parts of the study describe methodology and analyze content. The author used Pingree, Hawkins, Butler, and Paisley's (1976) scale for measuring sexism in advertising (described in Method section) to analyze the various levels of sexism projected through the advertising in India Today. The fourth part of the study also compares the results regarding levels of sexism obtained from the content analysis to the actual status of educated urban working women in India, since these are the women who constitute the female readership of India Today. The concluding part of the study discusses the implications of the results, and the scope for future research in this area.

Is the portrayal of women in India Today in keeping with the psychographics, social and economic reality of the magazine's female readership? Have there been any significant changes in the levels of sexism portrayed in the magazine's advertisements since 1984? These are the main research questions for this study.

Literature Review

Pre-Independence Status of Women in Indian Society

Down the ages, the status of women in Indian society has undergone several changes. According to Maitra-Sinha (1993), before the advent of foreign rulers such as the Muslims, Moghuls and British, Indian women enjoyed a high status in society. Evidence of this is exemplified in the fact that both the great epics in Hindu mythology — the Ramayana and the Mahabharata — are heroine-centred sagas (Maitra-Sinha, 1993). However, Chattopadhayay (1983) describes how, with the formation of the class system around 500 B.C., the status of Indian women declined dramatically. They were denied education, restrained within the house and expected to be subservient to men.

Desai and Krishnaraj (1990) describe how, with the advent of British rule in the seventeenth century, English became the medium of instruction. This phenomenon introduced a newly emerging Indian middle-class to the western concepts of liberty, equality, respect for the individual and secularism. The Social Reform Movement of the nineteenth century, and the National Movement for independence of the twentieth century brought into focus the issue of the deplorable status of women in society (Desai and Krishnaraj, 1990).

According to Singh (1990), around the end of the nineteenth century, the Social Reform Movement merged with the National Movement for independence. This scenario provided Indian women with the opportunity to participate with men on equal terms in the struggle to emancipate the country from British rule. With the gain of independence in 1947, Maitra-Sinha (1993) states that the Indian Constitution guaranteed women, who at that time constituted nearly half of the country's total population, equal employment opportunities and voting rights. The subsequent rapid growth of industrialization, urbanization and modernization of the country helped women to step out of the domestic terrain and into the work force (Maitra-Sinha, 1993).

Employment and Status of Indian Women After Independence

Asaf Ali (1991) describes how the initiatives of modern Indian social and political leaders such as Mohandas Gandhi and Mahadev Govind Ranade, who believed that political progress and social reform go hand-in-hand, especially in a fledgling democracy, gave a boost to the status of women in the post-independence years. Pandey (1989) adds that the Women's Liberation Movement in the United

States and European countries such as Britain, the Netherlands and Germany, provided Indian women's rights activists with further inspiration and direction in their work.

According to Saxena's (1989) study of Indian women in the workforce, educated women have been steadily carving out a niche for themselves in the various avenues of industry and business since the 1950s. For example, in services, professions and industry, women's employment has grown at a rate faster than the total employment growth rate in these sectors. This surge became perceptible in the late 1970s and 1980s, and the indications are positive for the current decade (Saxena, 1989).

Education is a strong indicator of the progress of any group within society. According to Kumar (1989), efforts to raise the level of women's education in India has been an ongoing process, and although their total enrollment figures are less than those for men, the overall enrollment is steadily increasing in academia and professional disciplines. In their research on literacy rates in India, Mishra and Singh (1992) found that in 1991, the overall literacy rate for the country was 52.11%, of which male literacy constituted 63.86% and female literacy stood at 39.42%. It is important, however, to bear in mind, that higher education for women in India is limited to the urban-middle and upper classes (Kumar, 1989).

According to Maitra-Sinha (1993), western concepts of liberation and equal opportunity may have opened the doors for many Indian women to a better future in the work place. However, tradition and culture are instrumental factors which obstruct the working woman's struggle to participate in the work world as equals of men (Maitra-Sinha, 1993). Gadhially (1988) states that the fact that Indian society has conditioned women for centuries to suppress their needs and willingly devote themselves to a life of self-denial, self-effacement and unquestioned domestic service, speaks for itself about the difficulty Indian women have in making the transition from the domestic to the professional role. Misra (1992) reports how on the one hand, professional women in India are expected to fully participate in building the economic structure of the nation, while on the other hand, they are still expected to fulfil the stereotypical duty of single-handedly managing the home front.

This section defines the average educated urban working woman in India today in a dual light. A small handful have managed to successfully assert themselves in their careers. But the majority, according to Sharma (1990), are in a transitional phase wherein they are in the process of leaving behind a traditional domestic past and dedicating themselves fully to their career goals. These two categories of urban working women constitute the female readership of India Today, the magazine examined in this study for its portrayal of women in advertising.

Portrayal of Women in the Indian Media

Film.

The genre of commercial cinema in India is the cheapest means of entertainment available to the vast, and mainly poor population of the country. Unfortunately, according to Desai and Patel (1990), the commercial film industry, which is a purely profit-based industry, cares little about the image of women they portray to the public.

In the 1960s, Pandey (1991) states that the heroine of the films were depicted as "threatening mystery" and as "a source of unparalleled pleasure". Since the 1970s, Desai and Patel (1990) add, commercial films have followed a set pattern of female image portrayals wherein women are projected as sacrificing themselves for the family and reaffirming values of self-effacement and devotion to the male head of the family. Women who opt for a less traditional life are portrayed in a negative light. Furthermore, these films vividly portray physical violence against women and hardly ever show women as being capable of thinking for themselves in a logical or rational manner (Desai and Patel, 1990).

In their study of the mistreatment of women in commercial Hindi films, Das Dasgupta and Hegde (1988) examined a sample of 30 movies spanning the decade 1973 to 1982. The mistreatments mostly occurred when women stepped out of their traditional and socially approved roles. The researchers concluded that the mistreatment of women in Hindi films is a mechanism which reinforces and perpetuates the patriarchal order of Indian society.

Television.

According to Punwani (1988), television, which first arrived in India in 1969, has been accused of portraying women in a manner which has little to do with the wider and actual reality of women in Indian society. Regarding the portrayal of women on Indian television, Shrivastava (1992) observes — "Middle class ideologies of women's roles as wives and mothers provide the underlying basis for all programmes. In a country where 36 percent of the agricultural work force is female, women continue to be projected predominantly as non-producers and as playing a limited role outside the home. Women are basically seen as performing a decorative function and as being marginal to national growth and development. . ." (p. 62).

Another important aspect of television programming, according to Desai and Patel (1990), is that a large chunk of the entertainment programs are drawn from commercial film content. A crucial implication of this phenomenon is that as in commercial films, women on television entertainment programs are projected as non-thinking, sacrificing and suffering beings while educated and motivated women are seen as the scourge of the patriarchal order of society (Desai and Patel, 1990).

In a study of 12 prime time television serials spanning a period of two and a half years, Punwani (1988) found that even though women were present in these serials in significant numbers, their portrayals did not reflect the complexities which form part of a contemporary average Indian woman's life. This and other findings confirming domestic stereotyping led the researcher to conclude that women in Indian prime time television shows are mainly portrayed as tradition-bound and passive. Those who attempt to break free of the traditional mould seldom meet with happy endings (Punwani, 1988).

Radio.

As in the case of television, Desai and Patel (1990) state that the majority of the radio entertainment programs in India are drawn from commercial films. As mentioned earlier, these films primarily depict women in submissive and suffering roles. As far as typical women's programs on radio are concerned, on an average, 60% of program time is devoted to entertainment. Twenty percent is slotted for educational programs, and 20% is used for imparting information. The stereotypes reinforced through these programs is that ideal women should fulfil their duties as housewives and mothers, and that working outside the house causes neglect of home and children. Women are portrayed as gossip-mongers, and they are given advice on how to become a good wife, a good mother and improve their physical appearance. They are also given elaborate instructions on how to cook, sew, knit, etc (Desai and Patel, 1990).

Print Media.

The print media in India (when compared to the electronic media), according to Desai and Patel's (1990) observations, have limited impact on the vast and mainly illiterate population of the country. The majority of the population have depended on the oral tradition of cultural transmission for over two thousand years (Desai and Patel, 1990). However, it is important to examine the impact of the portrayal of women in the print media on the small percentage of educated individuals who comprise the audience of the print media since these are the people who play a crucial role in planning the advancement of the nation.

Limited research has been conducted in the area of the nature and content of the Indian print media. Jha (1992) states that as far as employment figures for the involvement of women in the print media are concerned, hardly two percent of the total work force engaged in the newspaper industry is female. Since this means there aren't many women involved in the editorial gatekeeping process, news about women tends to get relegated to the inside pages (Jha, 1992). No significant research data is available on the portrayal of women in Indian magazines or newspapers.

Advertising.

In her research on gender portrayals in Indian advertising, Shelat (1994) describes how after the gain of independence in 1947, advertising in India was restricted mainly to the print media since television reached the country only in the late 1960s. It was also around this time that commercial advertising began on All India Radio, India's one and only national radio station at the time (Shelat, 1994).

According to Pandey (1991), since advertising agencies in India are predominantly run by men, the tendency to portray women in traditional roles, or in superhuman roles where they manage the home and the job front at the same time, has been inherent in the content of Indian advertising. According to Shelat's study (1994), the print advertisements of the 1950s and early 1960s portrayed men as breadwinners of the family, decision-makers and professionals while women were portrayed as being inordinately concerned with their physical appearance and cooking sumptuous meals to please their men and families. They "shopped, cleaned and pampered tired husbands, demanding in-laws and delightful children" (p. 8).

Desai and Krishnaraj (1990) observe that the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s saw an increase in the number of employed educated urban women. Also, according to Shelat (1994), television advertising was increasing in popularity. Advertisers began to subscribe to the superhuman portrayal of women wherein they would beautifully juggle their careers with domestic duties (Shelat, 1994). Balasubrahmanyan's (1988) research shows that these women were depicted as super efficient, and in no need of help from their partners in managing burdensome housework. Women, according to Krishnan and Dighe (1990), were also increasingly portrayed in service roles within the home while men were portrayed mainly as being involved with outdoor activities.

According to Tefft's (1987) report, recent complaints against the nature of the portrayal of women in Indian advertising have centered around the "indecent" sex object portrayals. Desai and Patel (1990) state that studies have shown that whatever the product being advertised may be — cosmetics, fabrics, luggage or stationery — women are mostly projected in glamorous and enticing roles. Tefft (1987) adds that while advertising executives insist that the "modern" portrayal of women is in keeping with the changing role of the urban female consumer who is becoming more independent and working outside the home in non-traditional jobs, women activists are marching to government offices demanding laws banning the indecent portrayal of women in Indian advertising.

Although recent research on the portrayal of women in the Indian media, especially the print media, is limited, the available literature review suggests that the overall trend seems to be in favor of portraying women in domestic roles or as decorative sex objects. Portrayals wherein women are realistically portrayed as useful contributors to the world of commerce, politics and development are sadly lacking.

Portrayals of Women in Print Advertising in Other Asian Countries

The studies on the image of women portrayed in the advertisements in most Asian countries are few and far apart. As in India, women in many of these countries are restrained from realizing their full potential by similar traditional and cultural norms. According to Leung's research (1992), the advertisements in these countries also reflect this phenomenon.

According to Ho's (1983) study, women in the advertisements of three Hong Kong newspapers were portrayed mainly in connection with "feminine" and leisure-related products. Men were portrayed more in connection to business-related products. Although the proportion of men and women shown working was nearly equal, women were portrayed in traditional female job roles such as beauticians, waitresses, etc (Ho, 1983).

Cho's (1990) study of dependency in American and Korean magazine advertisements showed that women were mostly portrayed as being dependent on men while men were seldom portrayed as dependent. If they were, it was usually in the advertisements for women's products. Korean women were portrayed as being more dependent than American women (Cho, 1990).

Choe, Wilcox, and Hardy (1986) compared American female models to Korean female models in four magazines from each country. They found that the American models tended to be older than the Korean models and that they were more likely to be smiling (Choe, et al., 1986).

In their recent study, Cooper-Chen, et al. (1994) analyzed the advertisements in six magazines from Hong Kong for 1990, three magazines from Korea for 1989, three magazines from Japan for 1990 and, for comparison between American and Asian portrayals, three U.S. magazines for 1990. According to the findings, Hong Kong had the highest percentage of women in high-level executive roles. The overall percentage of professional and executive roles for all three countries was lower than that for men. There was a relatively high portrayal of women in family roles in Hong Kong and Korea as compared to Japan (Cooper-Chen, et al., 1994).

These studies suggest that women are predominantly depicted in non-working decorative or traditional roles in the advertising in many Asian print media. If they are shown in working roles, they are usually traditional jobs roles such as stewardesses, secretaries, bank tellers, beauticians, etc. Domestic portrayals are usually high in number.

Method

This study used the method of content analysis. The portrayal of women in the advertisements in India Today were analyzed by applying Pingree, et al.'s (1976) scale of sexism. In a pioneering study in 1976, Pingree, et al. examined the portrayal of women in the advertisements in Ms., Playboy, Time and Newsweek between July 1973 and June 1974. Their findings showed that women were portrayed as sex objects in Playboy 54% of the time. Time and Newsweek advertisements did so 18% of the time, and Ms. portrayed women as sex objects only 16% of the time. Time and Newsweek portrayed women in domestic roles 55% and 60% of the time, respectively. Ms. did so 40% of the time. However, Ms. surpassed the other magazines in portraying women as equals of men and as full participants in the business world.

Pingree, et al. (1976) used the following levels of sexism to code the advertisements for their study:

Level 1	Woman as two-dimensional non-thinking decoration
Level 2	Woman's place is in the home or in womanly occupations
Level 3	Woman may be professional but first place is home
Level 4	Women and men must be equals
Level 5	Women and men as individuals

Level 1 was considered to be limited by stereotypes with the limitations decreasing with each increasing level. The author added a sixth category titled "Other" in order to incorporate advertisements which were eligible for study but didn't fit into any of the five levels.

Sample Selection

All the advertisements in India Today from the 24 issues in 1984 (January 15 - December 31) and the same number in 1994 were analyzed. In order to be eligible for study, an advertisement had to:

- be at least half a page in size
- have at least one woman present or implied in it

The advertisement was the unit of analysis, and the author analyzed the content of the entire universe for the years in consideration (1984 and 1994).

In the case of the existence of more than one woman in the advertisement, the woman demanding maximum attention because of her physical presence or personality was selected for examination. If a particular advertisement appeared in more than one issue, it was coded as a separate advertisement each time. In 1984, 444 advertisements were eligible for examination while in 1994, only 152 advertisements were eligible for study. The average volume of advertisements per issue in 1984 was larger than that in 1994.

Reliability

Although the scale for sexism was tested successfully by Pingree, et al. (1976), the author used Stempel's (1981) item-by-item reliability test in order to confirm the validity of the levels of sexism in the context of this particular study. Two coders, along with the author, coded 10% of the sample. The overall level of agreement reached for all five levels was 84.5%.

Results and Discussion

Results — 1984

Following are the results obtained for the levels of sexism coded in the portrayal of women in the 1984 India Today advertisements:

Table 1
Levels of Sexism in the Portrayal of Women in India Today's Advertisements — 1984

Months	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Other
Jan.-June	109 (56.48%)	60 (54.05%)	6 (42.86%)	32 (47.76%)	25 (46.30%)	
July-Dec.	84 (43.52%)	51 (45.95%)	8 (57.14%)	35 (52.24%)	29 (53.70%)	5 (100%)
Total	193 (100%)	111 (100%)	14 (100%)	67 (100%)	54 (100%)	5 (100%)

N = 444 Cramer's V = 0.13

Level 1 = 43.47%
Level 2 = 25% Levels 1 + 2 = 68.47%
Level 3 = 3.15%
Level 4 = 15.10%
Level 5 = 12.16% Levels 4 + 5 = 27.26%
Other = 1.3%

The data in Table 1 indicates that women were portrayed in non-thinking, two-dimensional and decorative roles (Level 1) 43.47% of the time in the 1984 India Today advertisements. Domestic portrayals and images of women in traditional occupations (Level 2) such as stewardesses and secretaries was next at 25%. Domestic duties were more important than professional commitments (Level 3) only 3.15% of the time.

Men and women were portrayed as equals (Level 4) 15.1% of the time while women were portrayed as individuals (Level 5) 12.16% of the time. Therefore, Levels 1 and 2 combined at 68.47% were the dominant levels of sexism portrayed. Levels 4 and 5 scored a combined low of 27.6% — less than half of the first two levels combined.

These findings indicate that in 1984, the advertisements in India Today predominantly portrayed women in domestic roles or as decorative objects. The image of women participating with men as equals in the work world or as individuals was not frequent.

Results — 1994

Following (Table 2) are the results obtained for the levels of sexism coded in the portrayal of women in the 1994 India Today advertisements. Significant changes from 1984 were noted in the data gathered for this year. The data in Table 2 indicates that women were portrayed as non-thinking, two-dimensional decorative objects (Level 1) 36.84% of the time. They were depicted in domestic or traditional occupations (Level 2) 7.9% of the time while the domestic front took priority over the professional one (Level 3) 6.58% of the time. Men and women were portrayed as equals (Level 4) in 26.31% of the advertisements and women were depicted as individuals (Level 5) 22.37% of the time.

These findings indicate that in 1994, women in India Today's advertisements were portrayed in domestic and decorative roles (Levels 1 and 2) 44.74% of the time. They were depicted as equal participants with men in the work place and as individuals (Levels 4 and 5) 48.68% of the time. Therefore, in 1994, the percentage of emancipated portrayals of women was higher than the domestic and decorative portrayals.

Table 2

Levels of Sexism in the Portrayal of Women in India Today's Advertisements — 1994

Months	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5
Jan.-June	22 (39.29%)	5 (41.7%)	6 (60%)	22 (55%)	16 (47.1%)
July-Dec.	34 (60.71%)	7 (58.3%)	4 (40%)	18 (45%)	18 (52.9%)
Total	56 (100%)	12 (100%)	10 (100%)	40 (100%)	34 (100%)

N = 152   Cramer's V = 0.14

Note. Since no advertisements were coded as "Other" in 1994, it wasn't necessary to include this column in Table 2.

Level 1 = 36.84%
Level 2 = 7.9%
Level 3 = 6.58%
Level 4 = 26.31%
Level 5 = 22.37%

Levels 1 + 2 = 44.74%
Levels 4 + 5 = 48.68%

Comparisons between the Levels of Sexism Portrayed in India Today's Advertisements in 1984 and 1994

Significant changes in the levels of sexism were noted after a comparison of the data gathered for 1984 and 1994. Level 5, which portrays women as individuals increased considerably from 12.16% in 1984 to 22.37% in 1994. Level 4, which portrays men and women as equals also increased significantly from 15.1% in 1984 to 26.31% in 1994.

This change suggests that advertisements in India Today are currently more supportive of the changing image of urban working women in Indian society than they were a decade ago. This may be a result of conscious adherence to the changing demographics and psychographics of India Today's female readership. This trend has positive connotations for Indian women involved in the struggle for emancipation from traditional norms which restrain them from realizing their full potential in areas outside the domestic terrain.

Unfortunately, the results for Level 3, which suggests that family duties predominate over professional commitments, are not encouraging. An increase from 3.15% in 1984 to 6.58% in 1994 was recorded. Although the overall percentage for Level 3 is very low in both the years, the increase suggests that despite the fact that the role of Indian women in professional occupations is being increasingly recognized by advertisers and society, they are still expected to single-handedly fulfill their domestic obligations while managing their careers.

Level 2, which portrays women in domestic roles and occupations, dropped significantly from 25% in 1984 to 7.9% in 1994. Once again, this change is in keeping with the positive changes in Levels 4 and 5, and it reflects the social reality that the majority of the educated urban women in India are not expected to be full-time housewives anymore.

Level 1, which portrays women as non-thinking, two-dimensional beings, dropped slightly from 43.47% in 1984 to 36.84% in 1994. However, this wasn't a dramatic drop since Level 1 still predominated over all the other levels in 1994 as it did in 1984. This suggests that although the portrayal of women as individuals and equals of men has increased since 1984, they are still portrayed as decorative sex objects most of the time.

The combined percentages for emancipated roles (Levels 4 and 5) showed a dramatic increase from 27.26% in 1984 to 48.68% in 1994. The combined domestic and decorative portrayals (Levels 1 and 2) showed a dramatic decrease from 68.47% in 1984 to 44.74% in 1994. This change indicates that overall, the emancipated portrayals of women in India Today's advertisements predominated in 1994 — unlike 1984, when the domestic and decorative roles predominated.

Conclusion

According to Saxena's (1989) research, the number of urban working women in Indian society is steadily increasing, and the changes over the last decade have been significant. The findings of this study support this change by showing that the women in current advertisements in India Today, India's leading current affairs magazine, are being increasingly portrayed in independent working roles.

However, in 1984 and even more so in 1994, professional women in the advertisements were expected to fully manage the domestic front in spite of being involved with demanding careers. This finding is in keeping with Mathur's (1992) argument that the traditional parameters of Indian society define urban working women today as being responsible for balancing professional and domestic duties without failing in either setting. This expectation adds a lot of pressure to the average working woman's life.

Also, in spite of a slight decrease, the decorative portrayals were still significant in number in 1994. This indicates that women are still treated as sex objects by advertisers despite the fact that they are increasingly participating as equals of men in the Indian work force. This trend acts as a negative force for Indian women who are in the process of liberating themselves from being subjected to stereotypes.

As is the case in the portrayals of women in the print media advertising of neighboring Asian countries such as Hong Kong, Korea and Japan, it may be stated that when it comes to decorative portrayals being high on the agenda, the situation is similar in India Today's advertising. However, in the area of non-domestic and professional portrayals, the women in India Today's advertisements fare quite well as do the women in the Japanese and Hong Kong print media advertising.

It was concluded from the literature review that the female readership of India Today comprises two categories of urban working women — those who are able to fully assert their independence and those who struggle between balancing domestic and professional duties. The advertisements in 1994 support the first category but they are discouraging as far as the second category is concerned. This is unfortunate since the women who fall in the second category are the ones who need all the inspiration they can get in order to break free of society's dual expectations.

In conclusion it may be stated that the current advertisements in India Today are making an effort to portray their female target audience in a realistic manner. Therefore, they are indirectly assisting the social process of women's emancipation from domestic stereotypes. However, changes need to be made in the area of portrayal of women as decorative and sex objects. Portrayal of liberation on the one hand, and stereotypical roles on the other, combine to project a paradox which is constraining to the movement toward emancipation. Further research still needs to be conducted in the following areas:

- Comparison of the roles portrayed by women in advertising in Indian media targeting different female audiences with varying demographics and psychographics.
- The portrayal of women in Indian television and radio advertising.
- The portrayal of women in Indian newspaper advertising.
- The relationship between the percentage of women involved in the decision-making and other processes in the Indian advertising industry and the portrayal of women in advertising.
- The impact of the different role portrayals of women in Indian advertising on different male and female target audiences.

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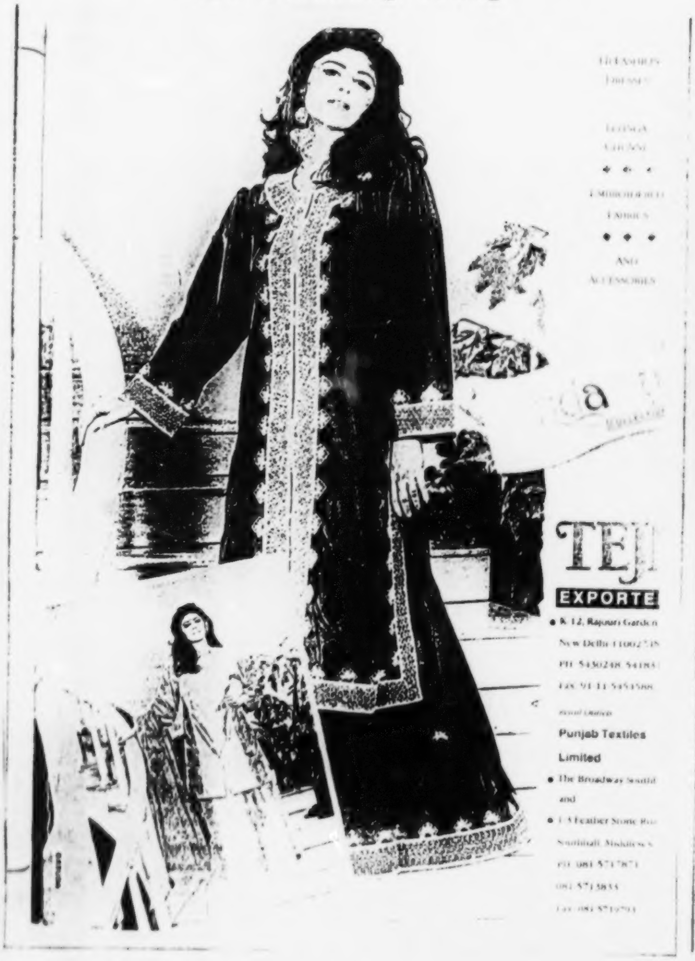
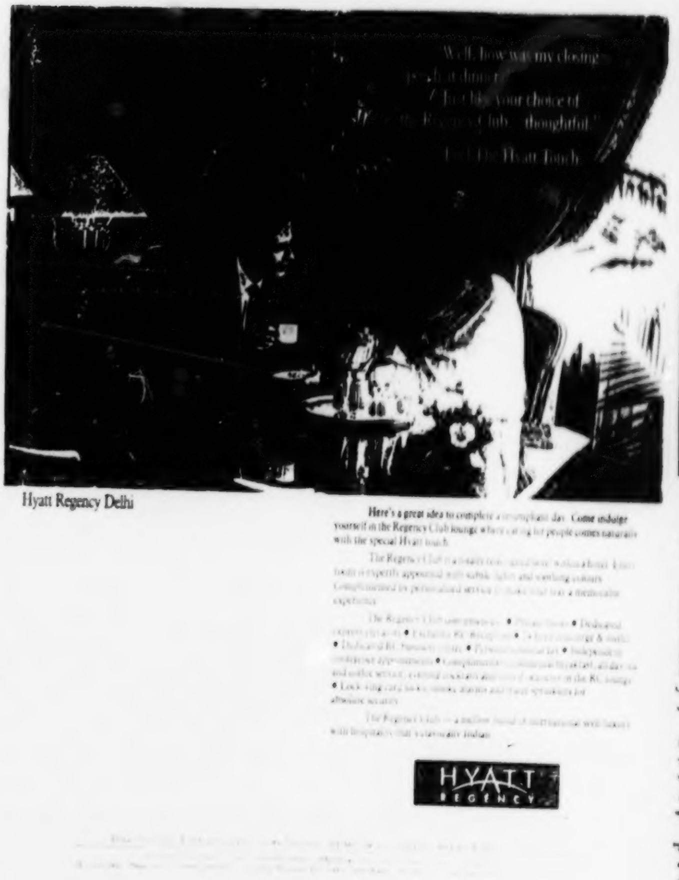
Examples of levels of sexism from sample

Level 1: Woman as two-dimensional non-thinking being



India Today - 15 January, 1994, p.69

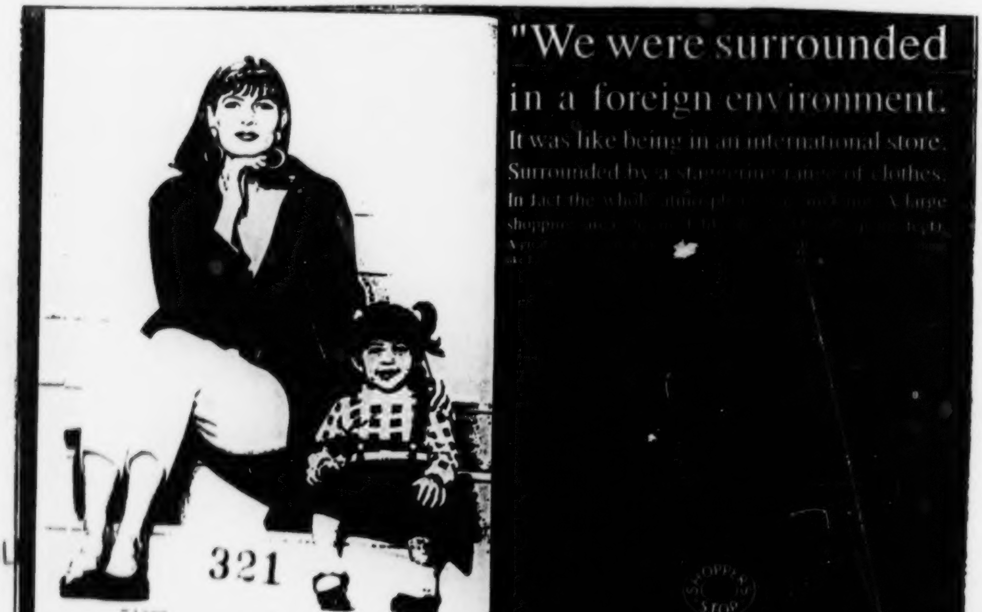
Level 2: Woman's place is in the home or in womanly occupations



Here's a great idea to complete a triumphant day. Come indulge yourself in the Regency Club lounge where caring for people comes naturally with the special Hyatt touch.

India Today - 31 January, 1994, p.63

Level 3: Woman may be professional but first place is home


"We were surrounded in a foreign environment.

It was like being in an international store. Surrounded by a staggering range of clothes. In fact the whole atmosphere [illegible] A large [illegible]

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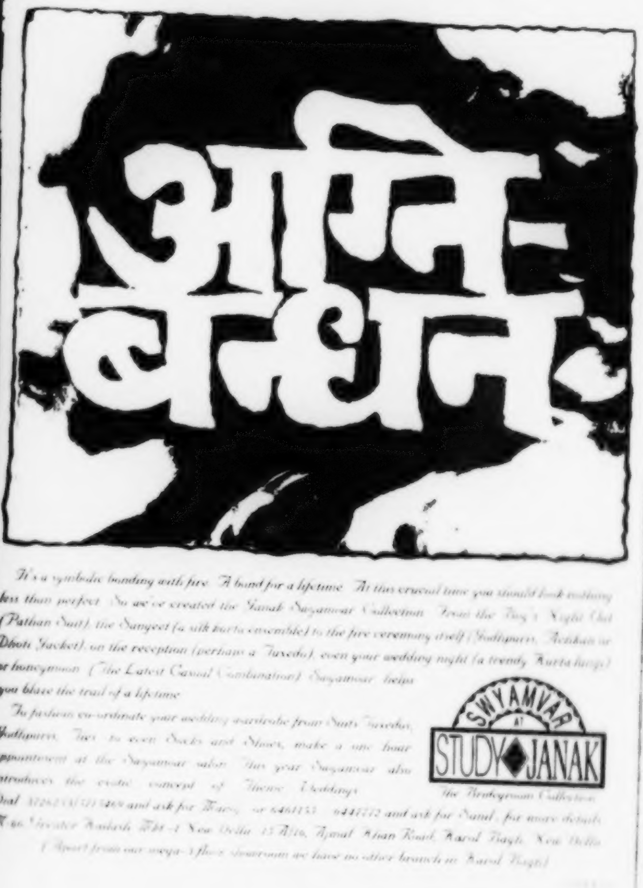
India Today - 15 February, 1994, p.76

Level 4: Women and men must be equals



It's a symbolic bonding with fire. A bond for a lifetime. At this crucial time you should look nothing less than perfect. So we've created the Janak Swyamvar Collection. From the Boy's Night Out (Pathan Suit), the Sangeet (a silk kurta ensemble) to the fire ceremony itself (Jodhpurs, Achkan or Dhoti Jacket), on the reception (perhaps a Tuxedo), even your wedding night (a trendy Kurta lungi) or honeymoon (The Latest Casual Combination). Swyamvar helps you blaze the trail of a lifetime.

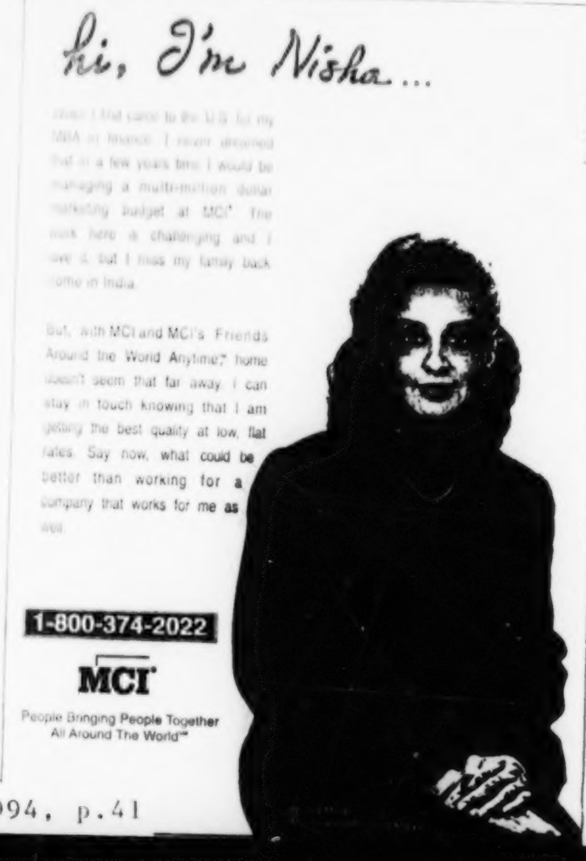
To fashion co-ordinate your wedding wardrobe from Suits, Tuxedos, Jodhpurs, Ties to even Socks and Shoes, make a one hour appointment at the Swyamvar salon. This year Swyamvar also introduces the exotic concept of Theme Weddings.

Dial 3726233/5715469 and ask for Harry, or 6461153 - 6447772 and ask for Sunil, for more details.
M-66 Greater Kailash Part-I New Delhi. 15 A/16, Ajmal Khan Road, Karol Bagh, New Delhi.
(Apart from our mega 3 floor showroom we have no other branch in Karol Bagh)

SWYAMVAR AT STUDY JANAK
the Bridegroom Collection

India Today - 31 January, 1994, p.70

Level 5: Women and men as individuals



hi, I'm Nisha...

When I first came to the U.S. for my MBA in finance, I never dreamed that in a few years time I would be managing a multi-million dollar marketing budget at MCI®. The work here is challenging and I love it, but I miss my family back home in India.

But, with MCI and MCI's Friends Around the World Anytime,℠ home doesn't seem that far away. I can stay in touch knowing that I am getting the best quality at low, flat rates. Say now, what could be better than working for a company that works for me as well.

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